

THE PENGUIN
POLITICAL DICTIONAR

COMPILED BY
WALTER THEIMER

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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NOTE

The first edition of this Dictionary has met with a very favourable reception, and a reprint has been found necessary after a few weeks. The new edition has been brought up to date, and about 50 references have been added.

The author and publishers wish to thank all those readers who have sent in suggestions for additions and improvements.

The Dictionary is deliberately confined to political terms and names of the present time. Their abundance left no space for going back into history.

The mark > before a word means that a special article on the subject will be found in its alphabetical position.

AALAND ISLANDS, a group of several hundred islands and islets in the northern Baltic, half-way between Sweden and Finland; total area 576 sq. m., population 27,000. Mariehamn is the principal town. The islands are of high strategic importance; if fortified, they might be used as a base for an attack on Russia, Finland or Sweden. Their holder would also control the shipping route of Swedish iron ore to Germany. It has therefore been a policy of the Baltic Powers to prevent the fortification of the islands. The islands are inhabited by a Swedish population but have belonged to Finland since the Middle Ages. They passed to Russia in 1809 together with Finland. After the Crimean War in 1856 Russia was, at Sweden's request, forbidden to fortify the islands. The latter have remained a sensitive point in Swedish-Russian relations. After the Russian revolution in 1917 a plebiscite demanded the annexation of the islands to Sweden. In February 1918 Swedish troops landed on the islands but were withdrawn when the Germans occupied the archipelago shortly afterwards. The Germans withdrew in November 1918, and a dispute arose between Sweden and Finland over the possession of the islands. The League Council ruled in 1921 that the islands should go to Finland but be granted self-government and be demilitarised. The islands have enjoyed autonomy under Finnish sovereignty since, Swedish being their official language. In 1938 Sweden and Finland agreed upon the refortification of the islands in view of the tension in the Baltic, but this action was blocked by Soviet opposition. The original spelling is Aland Islands, the A to be pronounced as in "all". See map of the Baltic.

ABERHART, William, Prime Minister of the Canadian Province of Alberta, born December 30, 1878, in Ontario, was Principal of a high-school at Calgary, Alb. Organised a Social Credit movement which won the provincial election in 1935, became Premier of Alberta on September 3, 1935. Tried to establish a currency system along Social Credit lines and proposed to give a "basic dividend" of \$25 a month to every citizen. The dividend was to be paid in non-negotiable certificates, which the recipient was to deposit with a special bank which had to place the amount to his credit. Further elements of the system were price control, with "just" prices, and a turnover tax to recover expenditure for dividends. A bill passed by the provincial legislature on August 4, 1937, to license chartered banks under this system was vetoed by the Federal Government at Ottawa, and the Canadian Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1938, together with other laws referring to credit and price control. The Privy Council upheld this decision. Another money experiment of the Alberta Government, the "velocity dollar", was stopped by Ottawa in 1937; and the Reduction of Debts Act was declared unconstitutional by the Provincial Supreme Court. Alberta then returned to an orthodox budget with heavy

ABSOLUTISM]

taxation, but showed a deficit of \$1,500,000. Further tax measures were vetoed by the Federal Government in December, 1938. At the provincial elections in March 1940, the Social Credit majority was substantially reduced.

ABSOLUTISM, the system of unlimited government, the governed having no representation, vote or other share in the administration. Continental absolutism of the 16th and 17th centuries had not the anti-democratic ring of to-day; it strengthened the central power at the expense of the nobility, frequently protecting the people from the barons' arbitrariness. It styled itself also "benevolent" or "enlightened" absolutism. It was during the subsequent struggle between citizens' democracy and monarch's rights that the term "absolutism" gained its present-day meaning. The dictatorial, or "leader", States of our times are the modern type of absolutism.

ABYSSINIA, official name Ethiopia, 350,000 sq. m., population 7,500,000, an independent empire until 1936, then annexed by Italy. Italian aspirations to Abyssinia went back to the last century when Italy acquired the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, on the Red Sea, as footholds for a conquest of the vast Ethiopian hinterland. In the first Italo-Abyssinian war of 1896, however, the Italians were defeated at Adua. Abyssinia went on to enjoy independence, but remained backward and undeveloped. The early 'twenties were marked by a struggle for the throne out of which emerged Hailé Selassié, formerly Prince Ras Tafari, as Emperor or Negus. He was a modern-minded ruler, toured Europe in 1924, visited Rome, but could not avert the revival of Italian aspirations to his country. A border clash at Ual-Ual, a water station in the desert, in December 1934 created tension between Italy and Abyssinia which resulted in war breaking out on October 2, 1935. The League of Nations, of which Abyssinia was a member, intervened, declared Italy aggressor, and adopted sanctions against her. The sanctions were, however, limited to an incomplete economic blockade, while the League States did not risk military sanctions. France, under Laval, countenanced Italy's action, and Britain was weak at that time. So the action of the League proved unable to prevent Italy from conquering Abyssinia. The Abyssinian army, poorly equipped and consisting mainly of unorganised tribal levies, made a good stand but collapsed after six months under the pressure of an Italian army of 500,000, abundantly equipped with the most modern war material and making ample use of air attacks and poison gas. The Negus fled to England, where he has lived since, and Mussolini proclaimed the annexation of Abyssinia on May 9, 1936, the King of Italy being declared Emperor of Ethiopia. Abyssinia was consolidated with Eritrea and Italian Somaliland into the Colony of Italian East Africa. The annexation was recognised by the Western Powers a year later. Roads have been constructed in the country by the Italians, but otherwise developments since the conquest have been limited, and it is not exactly known how far the Italians have achieved actual control outside the garrisons and the main communications.

ACTION FRANÇAISE (French Action), a French political group, extremely right wing, standing for the restoration of the monarchy. It arose in 1898 and during the Dreyfus affair gathered around the paper "L'Action Française". For conducting street demonstrations and protecting meetings, a body of young men known as the "Camelots du Roi" was set up. The present circulation of the "Action Française" is about 50,000. Intellectual leader of the movement is Charles Maurras, well-known French writer; political leader is Léon Daudet. While the direct political influence of the group is small (it has no representatives in the French parliament; in its history only one member, L. Daudet, was elected to the Chamber for the term from 1919 to 1924) its intellectual influence on other political currents, ranging from syndicalism to fascism, has been considerable. The doctrine developed by Maurras (who was appointed to the Académie Française in 1939) is based on three principals: integral nationalism, the use of force (the *coup de force*) and the tenet that order is more important than liberty.

The "Action Française" demands the restoration of kingship in France under the Bourbon-Orléans family whose head it recognises as rightful king of France (at present the Duke of Guise). It advocates a reorganisation of the French State along the lines of the former monarchy, including regionalism (decentralised administration and provincial autonomy) and a privileged position for the Church. It wants a corporate State, with syndicates of social classes and professional groups, a Chamber of Syndicates to be substituted for parliament. It is anti-Jewish.

In spite of its pro-ecclesiastical programme, the movement came into conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. The Church disapproved of the philosophical views of Maurras, which it held to be anti-Christian. On December 29, 1926, the Pope formally condemned the "Action Française". A reconciliation took place in 1939.

ACTIVISM, a term used by political groups who want to distinguish themselves as taking active steps towards the proposed aim from those who merely proclaim it as a programme.

AFGHANISTAN, 250,000 sq. m., population 10,000,000. Central Asiatic kingdom situated to the north of British India, capital Kabul, ruler King Mohammed Zahir Shah, born 1914. Afghanistan is a mountainous, backward, undeveloped country, which owes the maintenance of its independence to its inaccessible mountains and their warlike inhabitants on the one hand, and to its traditional function as a buffer State between Russia and India on the other. Languages spoken are Persian, Pushtu and Turki. Amir Habibullah, moderately progressive and pro-British ruler, was murdered in 1919 by reactionaries who tried to enthroned his brother, Nasrullah, in his stead. This was prevented by the murdered Amir's son, Amanullah, who imprisoned Nasrullah and ascended the throne himself. His first deed was to wage war against the British. The Afghan army came down the Khyber Pass to help insurgent Indian frontier tribes. The Afghans were defeated rapidly, an

armistice was signed, and followed by the peace treaty of 1921. Amir Amanullah concluded first a secret, then an official, treaty with Soviet Russia, and embarked on a policy of reforms. In 1926 he adopted the title of king. In 1927 and 1928 he toured Europe and the Near East, and came home full of fresh reforming zeal. He ordered modernisation along Turkish Kemalist lines: European clothing, abolition of women's veils, monogamy, &c., with the result that in 1929 the conservative mullahs, the powerful Islamic clergy, aroused a revolt against him. It so happened that the pay of the King's troops was in arrear at that time and this circumstance left him without defenders. He fled to India and proceeded to Italy, where he has lived since. The interesting episode of his rule in Afghanistan is unforgotten. Britain did not much regret the disappearance of the pro-Russian King. A period of internal disorder followed. The head of the anti-Amanullah revolt, Bacha-i-Sakao ("son of the water carrier"), an Afghan band chief of low descent, seized the power, declared himself Amir and withdrew all reforms of his predecessor. He proved, however, incapable of ordered government, and General Nadir Khan, a scion of the old dynasty, rose against him. With the help of Waziris from the British side of the frontier he defeated the usurper, and Bacha-i-Sakao was hanged at the end of 1929. The victor ascended the throne as Nadir Shah, obtained a £200,000 loan from Britain and restored order in the country. He returned to Afghanistan's traditional foreign policy and Russian influence was eliminated. After a time Nadir Shah entered the way of reform again, but slowly and cautiously, without provoking the mullahs. On April 8, 1933, he was assassinated during a football game while awarding prizes. The murder had probably no political background, but was an act of personal revenge by the son of a dismissed court official. Nadir's son, the present King Mohammed Zahir, succeeded to the throne without any opposition, and has continued his father's policy. Afghanistan's history has been rather uneventful in the last few years.

GADIR, a port in western Morocco, which became famous in connection with the Morocco Crisis of 1911 (> Morocco).

AGA KHAN, The Rt. Hon. Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah, P.C., born 1877, Indian notable, spiritual head of the (Shi'ite) Ismailia sect of Islam, having 10,000,000 members in India, Central Asia and East Africa. The Aga Khan is one of the richest men on earth. He was elected President of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1934. He is married to a French lady and has a son. The Aga Khan's attitude has always been pro-British. He declared his support of Britain immediately on the outbreak of the present war.

AGENT PROVOCATEUR (French term for "provoking agent"), a person sent, during political or social conflicts, into the adversary's ranks to provoke, in the disguise of an adherent, compromising actions. The method was much used in pre-revolutionary Russia when the Government sent agents provocateurs into the revolutionary movements to cause attempts or uprisings with a view to furnishing a pretext for

the Government to suppress the movements. Most famous agents were Gapon, the Russian priest, who led the workers' demonstration in 1905 that caused the troops to fire and gave the signal for the first Russian revolution, and Azeff, who managed to get into the supreme committee of the Social-revolutionary party, where he organised, and at the same time reported to the police, attempts on the Tsar's life and other revolutionary actions. Gapon was killed by the revolutionaries, while Azeff escaped after the Russian revolution and died in Germany in 1921. *Agents provocateurs* have also been used in other countries in the struggle between Governments and revolutionary movements. Similarly, they appear in labour disputes, trying to induce strikers to unlawful actions and to provoke armed clashes. In international politics *agents provocateurs* have been used to provide pretexts for interventions and wars by stirring up disorder and bringing about "incidents".

AGGRESSION, a term first used officially in the Treaty of Versailles which spoke of "the aggression of Germany", and also incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations, members undertaking "to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members". A precise definition of "aggression" met with difficulties, as every aggressor notoriously denies any aggressive intention and claims to act merely in self-defence against an accomplished or prepared attack, or on behalf of law, order and civilisation. Attempts were made in the Mutual Assistance pact of 1923 and the Geneva Protocol of 1924 to base the definition of an "aggressor nation" on refusal of arbitration; these attempts failed. Despite the lack of precise judicial definition, public opinion in the greater part of the world has a definite feeling as to the nature and originators of aggression.

AGRARIANS, a term used to denote the political representatives of agricultural interests. Agrarian parties have played an important rôle in various countries, particularly in Central and East Europe. Such parties are, as a rule, dominated by big and middle landowners, commanding also, however, a greater or smaller following among the small-holders. They are mostly right-wing parties. Movements in which the small-holder as such dominates are referred to as peasants' parties rather than Agrarians. They are mostly middle-road parties and sometimes co-operate with the left-wing groups.

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, shortly referred to as AAA, an Act adopted by the U.S. Congress on May 12, 1933, in order to help American farmers. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, likewise shortly known as AAA, was set up to regulate prices of agricultural products, partly by paying subsidies to farmers in return for restriction of cultivated acreage in accordance with established "national goals" under the title of soil conservation, partly by purchasing and storing surpluses unmarketable for the moment. The AAA has been spending about \$500 millions per year for its purposes. Originally it was intended to recover the subsidies by taxes imposed on industries processing agricultural products, but the processing taxes were abolished by the U.S. Supreme

ALBANIA]

Court on January 6, 1936, and funds have been appropriated from other budgetary sources.

ALBANIA, 10,600 sq. m., population 1,000,000, formerly Turkish, an independent State since 1913. War theatre in the Great War of 1914-1918, again independent afterwards, reorganised by Ahmed > Zog in 1925. Zog became President in 1925 and King in 1928. He tried to modernise the backward country, co-operated with Italy, which, however, suddenly attacked Albania in April 1939, drove Zog out and annexed Albania, the King of Italy accepting the Albanian Crown. The country is poor but of strategic importance in the Balkans and the Adriatic; 71% of the population are Moslems.

ALEXANDRETTA, Sandjak of, a territory on the north-western border of Syria, called after the port of the same name. Turkish until 1918, it was annexed to Syria after the Great War, but formed the object of Turkish aspirations based on the 40% Turkish proportion of its population of 220,000. (The rest consists of Arabs and various other groups.) In her endeavour to win Turkish friendship, France, the paramount power in Syria, consented to autonomy for the Sandjak in November, 1937. Turkey found this solution insufficient. On July 1, 1938, France and Turkey signed the Treaty of Ankara, providing for common rule in the Sandjak, with a Franco-Turkish garrison. At the election of August 21, 1938, the Turks won 22 seats out of 40. On June 23, 1939, France agreed to the complete cession of the Sandjak (now called "Hatay" in Turkish) to Turkey in connection with the conclusion of the Franco-Turkish pact of assistance. The French troops were withdrawn on June 29, 1939. See map.

ALFONSO XIII., ex-King of Spain of the Bourbon dynasty, born May 17, 1886, went into exile on April 14, 1931, when the republican rising was in progress. The Spanish Parliament subsequently deposed the dynasty and proclaimed a republic. Ex-King Alfonso has lived in Rome since. During and after the > Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 attempts have been made to influence General > Franco, dictator of Spain, to the restoration of the monarchy under Alfonso or one of his sons, but so far Franco has refused.

ALGERIA, French territory in North Africa, 845,000 sq. m., population 7,250,000 of whom 1,000,000 French, the rest Arabs. The province is divided into a Northern Territory of 222,000 sq. m. and a Southern Territory of 623,000 sq. m. The Northern Territory consists of three *départements* (Oran, Algiers, Constantine) and elects 10 deputies to the Chamber. The French Governor-General exercises the supreme power, and is responsible to the Minister of the Interior in Paris. There are various consultative bodies. The province is neither a colony nor an ordinary part of France; it has a mixed status. The vast Southern Territory is little developed and is under military administration. Northern Algeria has been well colonised by French settlers, who produce all kinds of agricultural products, fruit and wine in the fertile coast belt. Iron ore and phosphates are mined. There are nationalist, pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic tendencies among the native population. Certain

classes of natives have been recognized as French citizens since 1919.

ALSACE-LORRAINE, Eastern border province of France, 5,605 sq. m., population 1,915,000. The Rhine is its Eastern frontier, and the Vosges form the Western boundary. Principal towns are Strasbourg (200,000), Mulhouse, Colmar and Metz. During the Middle Ages the country, split up into a number of petty principalities and Free Cities, belonged to the German Empire. French conquest began in 1552 with the seizure of Metz. Most of Alsace was conquered by Louis XIV during the 30-Years War, and formally ceded to France by the Westphalian Peace in 1648. Strasbourg was seized by the French in 1681, and formally transferred to them in 1697. Lorraine, formerly ruled by the Habsburg Emperors, was ceded to Louis XV's father-in-law in 1735, and it subsequently joined France in 1766. The French Kings respected the local rights, and notwithstanding a measure of gradual assimilation to France, the German character of the country was preserved in general. The French Revolution marked a change. The local rights were abolished and the administration fully equalised with the rest of France, the country being divided into three *départements*. The French language became exclusive in schools and courts. Nevertheless the Alsatians heartily welcomed the revolution, as it freed them from feudal bondage.

Restored Kingdom, Second Republic and Second Empire continued the policy of unification and assimilation in Alsace-Lorraine. The population clung stubbornly to the German language (with the exception of a section of the educated classes that gradually adopted French), but otherwise the Alsatians were loyal French citizens, and many of them rose to high posts in the French State administration. After the German-French war of 1870-71 the re-established German Empire annexed the three *départements*, uniting them into the province of Alsace-Lorraine (German name: Elsass-Lothringen). Strategic considerations were, as far as can be judged from utterances by Emperor William I and Bismarck, at least as responsible for the annexation as the racial principle.

Municipal and local councils in Alsace-Lorraine passed resolutions protesting against the annexation in 1871 (the "protest movement"); they protested even against the introduction of the German language in the schools. Germany retorted by withholding self-government for Alsace-Lorraine and keeping the provinces as "Reichslande" (Imperial Territories) under a dictatorship with a strong military flavour. In the 'nineties, the protest movement ebbed, and the Alsatians joined the various German parties, mainly the Catholic Clericals (Zentrum). Dictatorship was mitigated to some extent, but an Alsatian Constitution was not granted until 1911, providing for a Diet with limited autonomy. While a large section of the population seemed ready to acquiesce in co-operation with Germany, there was also a renewed pro-French current under Wetterlé. Incidents like that of Zabern in 1913 (outrages of the military against the Alsatian population) perturbed the bid for reconciliation, and the Diet was in permanent conflict

ALSACE-LORRAINE]

with the Reich Government. When the Great War broke out in 1914, pro-French sympathies flared up again in Alsace-Lorraine, the more so as military rule and repression became once more very outspoken in the provinces. More than 20,000 inhabitants were deported by the German authorities on political grounds. While many Alsatiens fought and died for Germany, there were also many deserters to the French. When the French armies, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, marched into Alsace-Lorraine in November 1918, they were enthusiastically welcomed by the population. By the Treaty of Versailles, the provinces were reunited with France. A German demand for a plebiscite was turned down by the peace conference.

The French restored the three *départements*, *Haut-Rhin*, *Bas-Rhin* and *Moselle*, and embarked on a policy of assimilation. French was introduced as language of instruction in schools. Yet during the period of German rule the population had learned to feel as a territorial unit and, while not adopting a German national feeling in the political sense, had become more conscious of their ethnical character as German-speakers. An autonomist movement arose and gathered momentum by the Government's action in 1925 which was intended to introduce French law legislation in Alsace-Lorraine instead of the still valid German legislation favouring the Roman Catholic Church. Catholicism is a very strong factor in Alsace-Lorraine, and the plan had to be dropped in view of the opposition of the population. An autonomist organisation known as *Elsass-Lothringer Heimatbund* (German name, denoting Home League of Alsace-Lorraine) was launched in 1926 on a programme of "home rights", including recognition as a national minority, political autonomy within the framework of France, an Alsace-Lorrainian Diet with a separate administration, German schools, equal rights of the German language alongside with French, and protection of local economic interests. A group of autonomists, including the leaders Rossé and Ricklin, were tried at Colmar in 1928, sentenced to prison but soon pardoned. They emphatically denied striving for reunion with Germany. Reinforced by Catholic elements under Father Haegy and democratic ones under Dahlet, they won a success in the 1929 election. More important became their indirect influence, as the autonomist programme, or parts of it, penetrated into nearly all the local parties, frequently causing splits. At present, the autonomist party proper, styling itself *Elsass-Lothringische Partei*, has no representative in the French parliament, but a number of autonomists (not using this name but describing themselves as *heimattreu*, hometrue) are to be found within a variety of parties. Out of some 30 deputies from Alsace-Lorraine, about six are outspoken autonomists, and some others have autonomist sympathies. The strongest Alsatian party, the clerical *Union populaire républicaine*, forms, with two smaller groups, the *Action populaire indépendante* in the Chamber, numbering 15 deputies and comprising pro-French members (such as the leader, Michel Walter) as well as such autonomists as Rossé. German National-Socialist propa-

[AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

ganda has (in spite of Hitler's solemn renunciation of Alsace-Lorraine) also been active in the provinces in the last few years, and led to the setting-up of various crypto-Nazi organisations which were suppressed by the Government in 1939. Alsatian irredentism has been fed by the *Verein der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich*, the *Institut für Elsass-Lothringen* at Frankfort, and the monthly *Elsass-Lothringer Heimatstimmen* (editor Dr. Ernst) in Berlin. A number of autonomist leaders in Alsace-Lorraine were arrested in October 1939 and one of them, Charles Philippe Roos, was executed for espionage on behalf of Germany.

In Alsace nearly the entire population speaks German, while in Lorraine (not counting the former "French Lorraine" which was never in German hands) about 70% of the people talk German and 30% French. The Western districts of Lorraine are almost purely French-speaking. On the whole, there are about 1,500,000 German-speakers in Alsace-Lorraine, and while there are many people who do not know any French, or very little of it, there are others who are completely bi-lingual. German is the prevailing language of the local Press, the most important daily papers being *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten* (supporting the Government) and *Der Elsässer* (clerical). Literature is produced in German, in local (German) dialect and in French. Schools are French, with German taught as a foreign language. At public offices and in law courts, the German language is, though not legally recognised, in fact used equally with the French one. Public announcements are mostly bi-lingual.

The three *départements* continue to form to some extent an unofficial unit. German legislation continues to be valid there in many fields, and there is a *Direction générale pour les affaires d'Alsace-Lorraine* in Paris. The importance of this borderland is increased by its great wealth in iron ores and potash, and by the fact that the French Maginot Line is located here.

AMANULLAH, ex-King of > Afghanistan.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR, an organisation of American and Canadian trade unions, with headquarters at Washington, D.C. The American Federation of Labour was founded in 1881 on the initiative of Samuel Gompers, New York cigar maker, who had organised the cigar-makers of this city in 1877. The principles of the AFofL are: One union only for each trade in all North America. No "dual" unions are admitted. No individual workers are members of the AFofL; it is composed of the unions as such. The workers are organised in local unions which in their turn form national or (including Canada) international unions which are united in the AFofL. There are 100 such unions in the AFofL. The constituent unions are sovereign, not dominated by the Federation, which is only a loose association with a primarily moral jurisdiction, over them. The unions lead the strikes; the federal officials only lending advice and aid.

There are an executive committee in Washington, presiding over 49 State Federations with 1,400 locals, and an independent

Canadian Congress at Ottawa with Provincial Federations. A convention of the AFoL is held every year. There are also about 1,000 small "Federal Labour Unions", directly controlled by headquarters in Washington, which act as recruiting stations for the national unions.

The total membership of the unions forming the AFoL was 4,000,000 at its highest in 1920, dropped to 2,100,000 in 1933, and recovered to 3,300,000 in 1938. The AFoL has not organised more than 15% of American labour. Three reasons have been responsible for this fact: (1) the mentality of the American worker, less inclined to class-consciousness and organisation than his European colleague. (2) The stubborn resistance offered to unionism by American employers, frequently with the support of authorities and courts. (3) The self-imposed limitation of the AFoL to skilled labour.

The unions strive for "trade agreements"—collective agreements regulating the conditions of labour in each trade. Frequently they want employers to undertake to employ only organised workers ("closed shops", as opposed to "open shops".) Manufacturers recognising the unions may provide their products with the "union label", and the unions recommend such products to the preferred use of the members of the labour movement. It has, however, also happened that rivalling unions have boycotted each other's labels.

The AFoL, though a member of the Amsterdam Trade Unions International, is politically very different from European unionism. It is non-socialist, even anti-socialist, and, as far as possible, non-political. It is opposed to the formation of an American Labour party and limits itself to improving the conditions of labour within the capitalist system through direct negotiations or, if need be, struggle with the employers.

S. Gompers, the founder of the AFoL, was its president until his death in 1924. He was succeeded by William Green. Though "dual" unions arose in various places, and "yellow" or "company" unions set up by the employers gained as much as 1,700,000 members until they were declared unlawful by the Wagner Labour Relations Act in 1935, the AFoL maintained its supremacy in the American labour movement until the splitting-off of the CIO movement in 1936. The CIO (Committee for Industrial Organisation) movement arose in opposition to the self-limitation of the AFoL to skilled labour, which had led to the ratio of 6: 1 and even 8: 1 between the wages of the skilled and the unskilled, while in countries with general unionism the ratio is 2: 1 or at most 3: 1. The CIO organised broad "industrial" unions, mainly based on the unskilled, and had reached a membership of 4,000,000 by 1938. The AFoL and CIO movements continue to be in active conflict.

AMERICAN LEGION, an organisation of U.S. veterans of the Great War. All who served in the U.S. forces between April 5, 1917, and November 11, 1918, may be enrolled as members. Membership 1,000,000. The organisation was constituted at St. Louis on May 8, 1919. A Commander is elected every year. The Legion is organised in "posts" in every town, with

"departments" for each State. Headquarters are at Indianapolis. The symbol of the Legion is (as in the British Legion) the Flanders poppy. The object of the Legion is "to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate 100% Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of the members' association in the Great War; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might".

The Legion started combating the radical labour movement in America, and serious clashes with workers occurred. In 1922, an understanding was reached between the Legion and the American Federation of Labour, but the attitude of the Legion remained strictly anti-radical. The Legion stands for strong national policies, a big navy programme and partly even for conscription. It has displayed considerable political activity, and is an influential factor, particularly in the Western States. It led a prolonged campaign for a bonus for American veterans. Other activities include assistance to ex-soldiers, welfare and relief work.

AMNESTY, Greek, meaning forgetfulness or oblivion, is an act of the head of the State whereby he pardons political or other offenders. Punishments imposed on them are cancelled, those already in prison released. Amnesties are a frequent means of political reconciliation. They often occur after changes in the throne, presidency or régime. There are also financial or tax amnesties, pardoning tax-dodgers on condition that they subsequently pay the defrauded taxes, or subscribe to certain loans.

ANARCHISM, from Greek *anarchia* (non-rule), a political doctrine standing for the abolition of every organised authority and State machinery, and the creation of a stateless society instead. The anarchists hold that every form of government, whether a monarchy, a republic or even a socialist republic, is equally evil and tantamount to tyranny. They want to substitute for it a free association of individuals and groups without any coercive organisation, without armed forces, courts, prisons or written law, merely based on voluntarily respected mutual treaties. Anarchism covers a great variety of currents which may be divided into the individualist and socialist schools as to their ends, and into the peaceful and revolutionary schools as to their means. There is, however, no anarchism advocating anarchy in the sense of dissolution of every social order.

Important anarchist theoreticians were:

William Godwin (1756-1836), an Englishman rejecting government and large property, and proposing a stateless society of small owners of "just" property. He desired a peaceful social change through the persistent propagation of the idea of justice.

Max Stirner (1806-1856), a German teacher whose real name was Kaspar Schmidt. He wrote *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (The -Ego and His Own), a work advocating extreme individualism. Every individual is unique, Stirner taught, and superior to society. Morals are useless ("there is no such

thing as a good cause; I am My cause Myself, and I am neither good nor bad"), and society is a mere "association of egoists".

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), important French labour leader, wrote "Qu'est-ce que la propriété?" (What is property?) in 1840, and answered with the famous sentence: "La propriété, c'est le vol." (Property is theft). Later on he restricted his attack on property to large property acquired through exploitation of others, but defended small, self-earned property. ("Property is freedom.") Advocated the abolition of money and interest, the "two despots of social life", drafted an ideal society of small owners in which "exchange banks" organised equitable, moneyless exchange of goods. This would create harmonious social conditions, and all laws and governmental institutions would become superfluous. To effect this change, Proudhon recommended no revolution but practical work through the establishment of co-operatives and exchange banks. In his last years Proudhon departed from his anarchist teaching and recommended federalism as the best form of Government.

With Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), Russian revolutionist and most outstanding figure in anarchism, the latter took a definitely socialist turn. The rise of modern industry, based on the combined work of many persons in large units, had discarded the ideal of a society of small independent producers. Bakunin developed a system of "free", or decentralised, socialism as opposed to the "authoritarian" or State socialism of his contemporary and adversary, Marx. Common property was not to be transferred to the State but to small local communities which were to associate in a loose form by treaties without a State or supreme power. Revolution was to be the spontaneous work of the masses, not of political leaders or disciplined military forces; Bakunin rejected parliamentarianism, worshipped violence, advocated a system of continuous uprisings, directed by small secret groups. His slogan was: "Anarchism, collectivism, atheism." He founded the "International Alliance of Social Democracy" with a few thousand Italian, Spanish and Russian followers, and joined the First International in 1868. A severe struggle between Bakuninists and Marxists within this organisation followed, and as a result the International was broken up in 1872. The anarchist organisation also fell to pieces soon after, but much was heard of the anarchists during the subsequent two decades when small groups of them organised plots and assassinations in various countries. Netchayeff, Bakunin's assistant, had set up the theory of "propaganda by action", the doctrine that spectacular assassinations and bomb explosions were the best means of directing the people's attention to the revolutionary cause. Anarchists murdered Tsar Alexander of Russia, King Humbert of Italy, President Carnot of France, Empress Elizabeth of Austria and President MacKinley of the U.S.A.

Anarchism was represented in the U.S.A. in the 'eighties by Benjamin R. Tucker and Johann Most, the latter a former German socialist. American anarchists held a congress at Pittsburgh in 1883. After the bloody Haymarket clash at

Chicago in 1886, anarchism was suppressed in America. I has been legally forbidden since 1891, and up to this day every person landing in the U.S.A. must sign a declaration that he or she does not adhere to anarchist doctrines.

Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), Russian geographer, developed the doctrine of "communist anarchism". Realising the obstacles put in the way of an anarchist system by the existence of the great industries, he recommended the abolition of the latter and the return to handicraft methods of production. Common property was to be in the hands of little groups or communes each of which was to produce all articles required for the life of its members, and so to be self-sufficient. Division of labour, which Kropotkin regarded as mankind's greatest evil, was to be abolished, and "integration of labour" sought instead. Working hours would be reduced to 4-5 hours per day. There would be no fixed wages, but everybody would be compensated according to his needs. After a revolutionary past, Kropotkin, having lived in London since 1886, became more moderate in his last years, championed the Allied cause in the Great War of 1914-1918, returned to Russia after the March revolution in 1917, and supported Kerensky. After the communist victory Kropotkin opposed proletarian dictatorship, but stayed in Soviet Russia where he died in 1921. His French friend, Jacques-Élisée Reclus (1830-1905), likewise a geographer, developed similar anarchist theories.

Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), the famous Russian writer, was a religious anarchist. He held that State and law were inconsistent with Christianity, as love should rule instead of law. He taught non-violence and non-co-operation with the State. Every individual should, according to Tolstoy, refuse to render military service, to pay taxes, to recognise the tribunals, and the present order would collapse. The Tolstoyan principles of non-violence and non-co-operation were later adopted for other purposes by > Gandhi in India.

In Great Britain there has never been an anarchist movement of any appreciable size. MacKay, Scots anarchist writer of the 'seventies, wrote in German. In their syndicalist form (> Syndicalism), anarchist ideas influenced the English theory of > guild socialism, and for a time also certain currents in British > Trade Unionism.

Two international anarchist congresses (Brussels, 1877, The Hague, 1907) were held, but anarchism proper never succeeded in setting up a permanent organisation. Only a modified branch of anarchism, the aforementioned > syndicalism, became an organised mass movement in a few, mostly Latin, countries.

ANGLO-SAXONS, historically denoting the Teutonic Angles and Saxons who came over to England in the fifth century from what is now North Germany and Jutland, but used to-day as collective noun for the English-speaking peoples. The term is not exact in the scientific sense, as the British race of to-day is a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and other stock, and the American people is only 35 per cent of British stock, including the Highland Scots, and the Welsh who are rather Anglo-Saxonised Celtic. Even if Irish stock (which is prevailingly

ANNEXATION]

Celtic) is reckoned among the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon proportion in the American people does not exceed fifty per cent. But the word may pass as an expression of an actually existing community of language, mentality, civilisation, political ideals and institutions among the English-speaking peoples.

ANNEXATION, from Latin *annexus* (tying up), the act whereby a State takes possession of a territory formerly belonging to another State, or to no State at all. It is a one-sided action without the consent, or at least voluntary consent, of the former possessor. According to international law, it requires subsequent international recognition. Annexation confers full rights of sovereignty and possession, as distinguished from other actions which practically or temporarily confer similar rights but are not annexation proper, such as military occupation, League mandate or establishment of a protectorate. Acquisition of territory by purchase or lease, as a bi-lateral action, is not spoken of as annexation. The annexed population become subjects of the annexing State.

ANSCHLUSS, German word meaning "joining", used for the union of > Austria with Germany.

ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, an agreement between Germany, Japan and Italy with the object of suppressing the activities of the > Comintern, or Communist International. The agreement was concluded on November 25, 1936, between Germany and Japan. Italy joined it on November 6, 1937, with the character of an original signatory Power. The agreement reads as follows:

"The signatories undertake to inform each other of the activities of the Communist International, to consult each other on the necessary protective measures and to carry out such measures in close co-operation. Other countries whose permanent peace is menaced by the decomposing work of the Communist International are invited to take protective measures in the spirit of this agreement, or to join the agreement. The agreement terminates in November, 1941, but the signatories will in time agree upon their further co-operation before the agreement expires."

In December 1938 Manchukuo joined the pact, and in February 1939 Hungary did the same. Spain followed suit in April 1939, after General Franco's victory.

No specific activities were displayed on the strength of the pact, apart from interior measures against Communism taken individually by the signatory Governments even prior to the agreement. In other countries the pact was regarded as an expression of political co-operation, if not alliance, of the signatory Powers against the Democracies, in particular the British Empire, rather than against Communism.

ANTI-SEMITISM, hostility towards the > Jews. Former religious Anti-Semitism has been replaced by "racial" Anti-Semitism, opposing the Jews not because of their religion but because of their race. Nazi Germany has become the centre of this doctrine, while Russia, the former classical representative of Anti-Semitism, has suppressed it since the Communist Revolution in 1917. Racial Anti-Semitism emerged about the middle of

the 19th century simultaneously with the theories about the > "Aryan" or > "Nordic" race, and one of the principal purposes of these theories was to furnish a pseudo-scientific pretext for Anti-Semitism. The causes of Anti-Semitism lie in reasons of economic competition, the Jews having achieved important positions in many trades and liberal professions, and in an emotional overrating of certain subordinate external peculiarities of some Jews. The "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion", containing proceedings of an alleged secret conference of leading Jew to plan world domination, a document often quoted by Anti-Semites, are a clumsy forgery. *The Times* proved in a famous article in 1921 that these "Protocols" were drawn up by an official of the Russian Okhrana (the Tsarist secret police) to supply a pretext for > pogroms. He did not even invent them, but simply adapted a satirical pamphlet written in 1865 by a French democratic author against Napoleon III and ironically describing a meeting in hell for the purpose of scheming Napoleon's world conquest.

Anti-Semitism has reached its historical peak in Nazi Germany. Hitler took up all the theories produced by German writers about "race", "Aryans" and "non-Aryans", and made laws along these lines. The Jews were declared a "foreign" and "inferior" race, with a "poisoned blood" making them "criminals by nature", marriage and love-making between Jews and "Aryans" were forbidden by the notorious Nuremberg laws; the crime of "racial shame" was introduced into German law; Jewish scientists, including Einstein and Freud, were driven into exile, music by Mendelssohn and Offenbach was banned; the Jews were deprived of all civic rights, exposed to the deepest humiliation, banned from all trades and professions, persecuted, sent to concentration camps; their property was confiscated, one-half or 300,000 of them were driven out of Germany, and the horrible pogroms of November 10 and 11, 1938, were staged by the Government.

Nazi Anti-Semitism is directed also against Christians of Jewish origin. Every German subject must produce evidence as to his ancestry. Those with even one Jewish grandparent (of whom a surprising number have been revealed) are labelled "half-castes" and subjected to many restrictions because of their "bad blood".

APPEASEMENT POLICY, the policy of appeasing > Hitler and > Mussolini, who were operating jointly during 1937 and 1938, by continuous concessions granted in the hope of reaching a point of saturation when the dictators would be willing to accede to international collaboration. The recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, the toleration of the German annexation of Austria, the sacrificing of the Spanish republic and the > Munich agreement all fell under this policy which was declared to aim at the avoidance of war. It came to an end when Hitler seized Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939, in defiance of his promises given at Munich, and Prime Minister > Chamberlain, who had championed appeasement before, decided on a policy of resistance to further German aggression.

ARABIA, the Arab peninsula, also referred to as Arabia proper as distinguished from other Arab-inhabited countries. Arabia proper consists of the following parts: 1. > Saudi Arabia, the greatest and most independent part. 2. The Yemen, 75,000 sq. m., population 3,500,000, an independent kingdom under a ruler with the title of Imam, at present Imam Yahya ben Mohammed ben Hamid ed Din. The system of government is patriarchal. Capital San'a (25,000), ports Hodeida, Mocha. Includes the biblical Saba. The Treaty of San'a with Britain and India, concluded February 11, 1935, regulated trade and frontiers. 3. Aden (British) and Protectorate, including the Hadramaut (112,000 sq. m.). Strategically most important. 4. Oman, 82,000 sq. m., population 500,000, independent East Arab sultanate with a British Political Agent, ruler Sultan Sir Sayid bin Taimur, population mixed, many negroes and Baluchis. Capital Muscat (4,500). 5. Kuwait on the north-western coast of the Persian Gulf, population 50,000, Sheik dynasty since 1750, British Political Agent. 6. Pirate or Trucial Coast, adjoining area, population 80,000, six Trucial Sheiks under an exclusive agreement (1892) forbidding relations with any other Government than the British. 7. The Bahrein Islands, 120,000 inhabitants, ruled by a Caliph in treaty relations with Britain and with a British adviser. Important because of oil-fields (operated by the Bahrein Petroleum Co., registered in Canada, controlled by the Standard Oil Co. of California and the Texas Corporation), pearl fishing industry, East Arab transit commerce and strategic situation. Air-port on Empire route to India and Australia. For all these petty Arab States Britain maintains a Political Residency for the Persian Gulf at Bushire.

ARABS, about 50 millions, of whom approximately 10-12 millions in Arabia proper, 4 in Syria, 3.5 in Iraq, 1 in Palestine, 12-14 in Egypt, 0.7 in Libya, 2.3 in Tunisia, 6 in Algeria and 7 in Morocco. Only the Arabs in Arabia proper, the Desert Arabs, are of the pure Semitic Arab race, the others are more or less mixed, in particular the African Arabs, and the West African Arabs belong to the Berber or Hamitic race. Arabic national feeling first awoke in Syria in 1847 among Arabs educated at Catholic and Protestant mission schools. A literary society, patronised by American missionaries, was the first to spread Arab nationalism. The struggle for Arab emancipation was directed against the Turks, ruling most of the Arab countries, and in the World War of 1914-1918 the Arabs willingly sided with Britain in return for a promise of liberty. Emir Hussein, Shereef of Mecca, negotiated with Sir Henry MacMahon, British plenipotentiary, in October 1915, and demanded Arab independence within frontiers including Arabia proper, Syria and Mesopotamia, the Western frontier being formed by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Sir Henry wrote that Great Britain was prepared "to recognise and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Shereef of Mecca" with the exception of certain districts lying to the west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. The arrangements made after the victory were

declared by the Arabs not to be in accordance with the promises given during the war. No united, independent Arab State or Federation was set up; but a number of dependent, separate entities were formed: Iraq, Palestine and Transjordania under British, Syria under French mandate. Only the Hedjaz became independent. The Arab nationalist movement turned now against Britain and France, and many disorders occurred. Gradually, the mandatory Powers granted increasing self-government, and the Iraq was released from the Mandate in 1932 as an independent kingdom, though in special treaty relations to Britain. The two parts of > Syria (Syria proper and the Lebanon) were in theory granted independence in 1936, but the release has not yet been ratified by France, and French troops have remained in Syria. (> Palestine, > Panarabism, > Panislamism.)

ARGENTINA, second-largest South American republic, 1,079,000 sq. m., population 12,800,000, federal capital Buenos Aires (2,300,000), language Spanish. President Dr. Roberto M. Ortiz, elected September 5, 1937, in office since February 20, 1938, for a six-year term, obtained 248 out of 376 votes in the electoral college, the remaining 128 having been in favour of Dr. Marcelo T. Alvear, Radical Party leader. The present Government consists of a coalition of the conservative National Democrats and the moderate Radical Antipersonalistas. Out of the 158 members of the Chamber of Deputies, 59 are National Democrats, 24 Radical-Antipersonalistas, 63 Radicals, 5 Socialists, and a few independent. The present Constitution dates from 1853 and important changes have been under consideration in the last few years. Among the parties, the National Democrats advocate strengthening of the position of legislature and judiciary, tariff protection, reciprocal (not most-favoured-nation) trade treaties, arbitration in labour disputes; the Radical-Antipersonalistas stand for direct election of the President and the Senate (the latter being presently elected by the provincial legislatures), votes for women, more colonisation and division of land; the oppositional Radicals (Union Civica Radical) advocate oil and mining control by the State, tariff protection, votes for women, tax exemption for smallholders, low grain freight rates. The Socialists are moderate, demand the division of big estates, nationalisation of oil, minimum wages, social insurance, a low tariff and liberal constitutional reforms.

Political problems apart from the constitutional reform are: the land question (large estates, absenteeism), labour disputes (trade unions are partly syndicalist) and the tariff question (industrialisation). The country's welfare depends on the exportation of wheat (8.7 million metric tons in the last year), maize (6 million tons) and linseed (1.5 million tons) as well as of beef, mutton, butter and wool. Imports and exports total 1,400,000,000 pesos each, chief markets are Britain with 445 million pesos in 1938, Germany with 161 and the U.S. with 113 million pesos. The currency is pegged to the £, and there is foreign exchange control. In foreign policy Argentina has been active in the League, favouring League policies, like other

South American States, as a counterweight against U.S. influence. Friendship with Great Britain, by far the greatest customer, is traditional.

ARYANS, a term originating in the science of languages and erroneously applied to the field of racial and national questions. The word "Arya" is Sanskrit, and is the name by which a warlike northern Indian people is described in ancient Indian scripts about 3000 B.C. The name means "lord". It became usual in philological science to speak of an inter-related group of Indian languages as "Aryan". A German scholar, Friedrich Max Müller, who lived at Oxford from 1848 until his death in 1900, invented the theory that the mythological Aryans had not only spoken the primitive Indo-European language from which all present languages of this family (ranging from Hindustani to English) derived their origin, but had even been the Aryan or Indo-European "Urvolk", primitive race. Nationalist and romantic writers in Germany and also England seized upon this idea, and a myth arose of the Aryan Urvolk descending from the snow-clad peaks of the Pamir and spreading not only over all India and Persia but, more important, across the wide Russian steppe into all Europe to lay the foundations for all future civilisation. It was claimed that all speakers of Indo-European languages were descendants of this "Aryan race" to whom extraordinary qualities were attributed.

Later research has proved beyond doubt that the Indo-Persian group of languages, the "Aryan" group in the philological sense, is not the eldest or primitive Indo-European language. Nobody knows what the people who first spoke a language of this family were like, where they lived (except that it was somewhere in Asia) and whether they bore any resemblance to any of the races inhabiting Europe at present. There is no historical proof of any "Aryan" people coming from India to Europe. The Aryan languages may as well have come to India from Europe, and generally speaking, languages may migrate without a corresponding racial migration. The Romanic elements in the English language were not introduced by a Romanic people but by the purely Teutonic Normans. The people or peoples who brought the Indo-European languages to Europe, wherever their cradle may have stood, need in no wise have been of Indo-European or "Aryan" race. Recent studies on the Aryan language of the biblical Hittites have even suggested the idea that the Aryan-speaking Urvolk was Semitic, long-nosed and black-haired.

Müller recognised his error in later years and wrote a good deal to repeal it. He emphasised that "Aryan" was only a philological term, and meant neither blood nor bones, nor hair, nor skull. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as an Aryan in Europe. The myth, however, has survived its creator and become the principal weapon of > Anti-Semitism. Thus "Aryan" is often merely synonymous with "non-Jewish". (> Race, > Nordic).

ATATÜRK, Kemal, Turkish general and statesman, maker of modern Turkey, first president of the Turkish Republic, 1881-1938. Born in Salonica, son of a customs official, became

an army officer, took part in the Young Turkish revolutionary movement. Defended the Dardanelles in 1915, became General and Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Held commands in the Caucasus, Hedjaz and Palestine, had differences with the Germans as he soon foresaw the defeat of Germany in the war, and opposed German interference with Turkish internal affairs. Was sent to Anatolia in May 1919 to carry out disarmament, set up a national movement and army in defiance of the Constantinople Government, called a national congress, organised war against Greeks who had landed in Asia Minor. Was outlawed by the Constantinople Government; but nationalist members of parliament gathered at Angora as a National Assembly, elected Kemal Pasha president and broke with Constantinople.

Kemal Pasha was appointed generalissimo in 1921, fought and won the 22 days battle on the Sakaria which decided Turkey's fortune. The National Assembly honoured him with the title "Ghasi", the Victorious. Ghasi Mustapha Kemal Pasha concluded the peace of Lausanne, abolished the sultanate and caliphate, declared Turkey a republic on October 29, 1923, was unanimously elected President, re-elected 1931 and 1935. Embarked on a policy of modernisation and secularisation of Turkey, carried out with an iron hand on the basis of dictatorial powers conferred on him. Crushed the opposition of the Moslem clergy to his non-religious policy, suppressed communism and an anti-dictatorial conspiracy in 1926, made ample use of capital punishment. Separated State and religion, banned polygamy, women's veil, fez, ordered all Turks to wear hats and European clothes, introduced European customs, modern sports, ordered change-over from Arabic to Latin script, made Turks adopt surnames in 1934, himself taking that of Ataturk, meaning father of the Turks, and dropping the Arabic Mustapha. (The non-republican Pasha title he had dropped earlier.) Married Latife Hanum, highly educated and modern daughter of a Smyrna shipowner, in 1923; divorced her in 1927 when he believed she was trying to influence his policy. Died, childless, of cirrhosis of the liver on November 10, 1938, and was succeeded by Ismet Inönü.

ATTLEE, Clement Richard, British Labour leader, born 1883, educated at Haileybury and University College, Oxford, called to the Bar in 1905. Turned to socialism, was for a long time connected with Toynbee Hall. In 1913 he became lecturer at the London School of Economics. Served in the Great War, reached the rank of Major. Became first Labour mayor of Stepney in 1919, Labour M.P. for Limehouse in 1922, was a member of the India Commission 1927-1930, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1930-1931, Postmaster-General in 1931. Deputy-leader of the Labour Party since 1931, he succeeded Lansbury in the leadership in 1935. In December 1937 he paid a visit to the republican section of Spain. Attlee is Leader of the Opposition in Parliament. Politically he stands about midway between the right and left wings of the Labour Party.

AUSTRALIA, Commonwealth of, member of the British Commonwealth, 2,975,000 sq. m., population 6,800,000. Capital:

Canberra. Australia was organised as a Dominion under the Commonwealth of Australia Act of January 1, 1901, as a federation of six States, to wit, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia and Tasmania. There is also a large Northern Territory. The Crown is represented by the Governor-General, while Parliament consists of a House of Representatives and a Senate, elected for three and six years respectively. Australia is primarily an agricultural country, being one of the world's greatest producers of wheat and wool. Yet industrialisation has reached a considerable degree. Greatest trade partners are Britain (50%), Japan and the U.S.A. The population is thin, but immigration has not been encouraged in recent years for two reasons: firstly, the fear that an inflow of hands might imperil the high wages and the high standard of life in the Commonwealth, and secondly hesitation as to the admission of immigrants of other than British stock. In foreign policy Australia is faithful to the British Commonwealth. While fear of Japanese expansion to the Australian Continent seems to cover rather a remote possibility, Australia has been anxious to maintain good relations with Japan and used her influence on Imperial policies in this direction. In the Great War of 1914-1918 Australia sent an army of 240,000 excellent soldiers to the Near Eastern and French fronts. There is an Australian navy of 4 cruisers and 2 destroyers, and a Royal Australian Air Force.

There are three political parties: The United Australia Party (29 seats in the Lower House), formed in 1931 by an amalgamation of several non-Labour groups. Leader is the present Prime Minister, R. G. Menzies. The party is moderately conservative, favours agricultural marketing control, national insurance, the Ottawa agreements and close co-operation with the Empire. The United Country Party (leaders A. Cameron and Sir E. C. G. Page) numbers 16 seats and is rather an Agrarian party, favouring tariff reduction on manufactured goods, otherwise not very different in programme from the United Australia Party with which it now forms a coalition government. The somewhat radical Labour Party was in power from 1929 till 1931. It fostered Australian nationalism and adopted a high customs tariff. In foreign policy it was pacifist and isolationist. The economic crisis of 1930 brought Labour rule to an end. Labour is strongest in the industrial States, in particular New South Wales. There are 29 Labour members in the Lower House.

At the outbreak of the present war, Australia immediately sided with Britain, declaring war on Germany on September 5, 1939. An opposition motion not to send Australian troops abroad was defeated in Parliament by a vote of 33 : 28 on November 29, 1939. The first Australian troops were despatched overseas in January 1940, and it was announced that Australia would contribute 26,000 men to the Empire Air Training scheme.

AUSTRIA, formerly an independent State, organised out of the German-speaking Alpine provinces of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Capital Vienna, area 32,000 sq. m.,

population 6,800,000. After the World War of 1914-1918, Austria declared union with the German Republic. This was, however, prevented by the Allies, and Austria lived as an independent State with the aid of the League. In 1934 a sort of clerico-fascism seized power under Dollfuss, crushed the workers who rose in defence of the republican constitution and suppressed a Nazi uprising in which, however, Dollfuss was killed. > Schuschnigg succeeded him as Chancellor, tried to bring back the > Habsburgs, but on March 12, 1938, the German troops marched in and Hitler annexed Austria. No resistance was offered either by Austria herself or by her Guarantor Powers. Schuschnigg has been kept a prisoner since. While prior to Hitler's advent to power a majority of Austrians had been desirous of the *anschluss* on a federal basis, union with Nazi Germany was resented not only by the Socialist workers but also by Catholic and Monarchist circles. After the outbreak of the present war, a group of émigrés, mostly Habsburg monarchists, set up "Austria Officers" in London and Paris to work for Austrian independence.

AUTARKY. (from Greek *autarkeia*),—often spelt "autarchy", self-rule, by mistaken analogy with "dyarchy", dual rule—self-sufficiency; in the economic sense, the idea that a country should produce at home everything she requires and cease to depend on imports. The drive for autarky has been most outspoken in Nazi Germany, being based there primarily on military considerations, with a view to making Germany blockade-proof.

AUTHORITARIAN, a term denoting a more or less dictatorial system of government, as opposed to the democratic system based on the people's sovereignty. Adherents of authoritarianism criticize the alleged disunion and inefficiency of the democratic system, and praise the advantages of a strong State authority. The question where the bearers of this authority derive it from is left open.

AUTONOMY, a word of Greek origin ("self-law"), meaning home rule.

AXIS, ROME-BERLIN, a term denoting the political collaboration of Germany and Italy, initiated during the Abyssinian conflict in 1936, strengthened by Italy's accession to the > Anti-Comintern pact in 1937, and developed to a full political and military alliance in 1939. Italy had collaborated with the Western Powers before and opposed Germany's expansion in the Danube Basin, threatening even armed intervention during the first Nazi uprising in Austria in summer 1934. When her attack on Abyssinia and the sanctions had alienated Italy from the Western Powers she turned to the Axis policy. This helped her, as a first result, to complete the conquest of Abyssinia, and Germany to reoccupy the Rhineland. Thereafter the two Axis Powers collaborated in the support of General Franco in the > Spanish civil war and supported each other, with varying intensity, in their political actions. When Germany annexed Austria in 1938, Italy now acquiesced. She did not oppose Germany's further expansion in the Danube Basin either, despite some conflict of interests in the regions

of Hungary and Yugoslavia. Hitler and Mussolini exchanged visits in 1938, and Germany enjoyed Italy's (not whole-hearted) support in the September crisis of 1938 over Czechoslovakia. As Germany became the distinctly stronger partner in the Axis, collaboration was deepened. Italy adopted an anti-Jewish policy to please Germany. When Germany seized the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 Italy occupied Albania. According to the German conception Italy is to devote herself to expansion in the Mediterranean sphere, while Germany reserves to herself Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The Axis was originally in opposition to Britain, France and Russia, but associated with Japan, forming the "world-political triangle Berlin-Rome-Tokyo" with the latter. Spain and Hungary adhered to the Axis, which also strove to extend its influence in the Balkans. The German-Italian treaty of alliance, signed in Berlin on May 22, 1939, after stressing the definite and permanent nature of the Italo-German frontier and the close inner relationship of the National-Socialist and Fascist systems, stated that Germany and Italy "join forces for securing their living-space and maintaining peace" so as to "make the foundations of European civilisation safe amidst a world of unrest and disintegration". Art. I and II provided permanent touch and mutual consultation on all questions of international policies. Art. II continued: "If the security or other vital interests of one partner are threatened from without, the other partner will lend him his full diplomatic and political support." Art. III said: "If one of the two partners becomes involved in a warlike conflict with one or more other Powers, the other partner will immediately stand by him as an ally, and support him with all his military forces on land, on sea and in the air." Art. IV provided immediate collaboration in military affairs and war economics. Art. V pledged both partners in the event of a joint war to conclude an armistice and peace only in full mutual agreement. Art. VI provided for common policies towards friendly nations. Art. VII made the treaty valid for 10 years, the partners to agree in due course on prolongation.

When the present war broke out, Italy declared her neutrality. The German pact with Soviet Russia no doubt contributed to this decision, and it was rumoured that there was a secret clause in the German-Italian treaty of alliance providing that Art. III should come into force only after three years. Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, indicated in a speech in December 1939 that a period of waiting had been agreed upon, during which controversies should not be pushed to extremes by either partner in the Axis. (> Italy, > Mussolini and > Tyrol.)

AZAÑA, Manuel, Spanish republican politician, last president of the Spanish republic, born 1880 at Alcalà de Henares, studied at Madrid and Paris, became a barrister and lectured at Madrid University. Wrote many articles, political books, novels, dramas, translated, specialised in military affairs, opposed Primo de Rivera, was active in the revolutionary movement 1930-1931. Was imprisoned for some time, became Minister

of War in the first republican Government, then President of the Republic in October 1931. He followed a middle-left line of democratic and social reforms, had to grapple with Catalan, monarchist and anarchist uprisings. Resigned in September, 1933, succeeded by right-wing Lerroux. Was head of the Catalan provisional Government during the Barcelona insurrection of 1934, was arrested, imprisoned for 10 weeks, again arrested in 1935 but soon released. Succeeded Zamora as President of the Republic for the second time on May 10, 1936, under the ensign of the Popular Front; shortly after, the Spanish civil war broke out. Azaña vigorously defended the republic, fought through until the end, moving from place to place, opposing the radicals in the republican camp. He left Spain at the collapse of the republic.

BALANCE OF POWER, the idea that the strength of one group of Powers on the European Continent should be equal to the strength of the other group, thus preventing any hegemony and ensuring peace. The maintenance of this balance has been the traditional object of British foreign policy, and the long peace period from 1871 to 1914 was achieved under the ensign of the balance between the German-Austrian-Italian group (the Triple Alliance) and the Anglo-French-Russian group (the Triple Entente). The original idea had been to keep the balance between the Continental Powers only, with Great Britain as a sort of neutral who would be able to decide the issue in an emergency, but the vehement growth of German power necessitated the active participation of Britain in one group to maintain the balance. After the Great War of 1914-1918 an attempt was made to restore the balance through cautious support of Germany's recovery as a counterweight to French hegemony, and when Germany grew too strong under Hitler, to restore the balance from the other end by a renewal of the alliance system with France and Russia. These efforts failed; as far as Russia was concerned, and the war of 1939 was the result. The maintenance of the balance of power has been rendered more difficult by the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the enigmatic attitude of Russia in European politics.

BALEARES, a group of three islands (Mallorca, Minorca and Ibiza) in the Western Mediterranean, belonging to Spain and being of great strategic importance. They control France's communications with her North African Empire. Italy tried to establish herself on the Balearics in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) but this was forestalled by Britain and France. See map.

BALFOUR DECLARATION, a letter from J. A. Balfour, then British Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild, Chairman of the British Zionist Federation, whereby the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine was promised. The letter, dated November 2, 1917, reads as follows: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The document is the keystone of Zionist policies in Palestine. (> Zionism, > Palestine.)

BALKAN ENTENTE, a regional pact between Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania, concluded February 9, 1934, providing for a mutual guarantee of all their Balkan frontiers, with consultation and pledge to abstain from independent action towards any non-signatory Balkan Power. Non-signatories were Bulgaria and Albania (which was still independent

at this time). A secret protocol provided for joint action if any signatory were attacked by a non-Balkan Power, and a Balkan Power joined in the aggression. Bulgaria was the Balkan Power envisaged, and another secret protocol specified measures to be taken against her if she intervened. There is a permanent council, an economic council and a secretariat. Two "inner teams"—the Greek-Turkish and the Yugoslavian-Rumanian—may be distinguished. At the conference in Belgrade, February 1940, the Balkan Entente was renewed for a further period of 7 years, and the desire for a policy of neutrality in the present war was emphasised.

BALKANS, the area including > Yugoslavia, > Rumania, > Bulgaria, > Greece, > Albania and European > Turkey. They were called the "cockpit of Europe" and "Europe's storm corner" before the World War of 1914, and were the point of collision between German-Austrian and Russian imperialism and the starting-point of the > annexation crisis of 1908, the first and the second Balkan wars 1912-1913 and eventually the World War. The Balkans have since been over-shadowed by other danger-spots of international policy. Nevertheless they continue to be a very important region. They have in the political sense been substantially lengthened to the north through the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary which "balkanised" the Danube Basin. Now what was the Balkan problem formerly is included in the "South East Europe" problem. The importance of the Balkans as such rests on their agricultural and mineral resources; above all, however, on their strategic situation. They are situated on the land route to Asia and offer control of the Eastern Mediterranean. Germany (formerly through the medium of her Austrian ally, now directly) has always aspired to control of the Balkans as part of the > "Berlin-Baghdad line", leading to the Mosul oilfields and farther on to India. Russian influence, the principal counterweight to German aspirations until 1914, was eliminated in the Balkans from 1918 to 1939, but has re-emerged with Russia's advance to the west in September 1939. At present, German, Italian and Anglo-French influence wrestle with each other in the Balkans, with Russia standing in the background. Germany had secured control of 50% of Balkan foreign trade before the outbreak of the present war, which was accompanied by an increase in political influence. Rumania and Greece have obtained British guarantees against German aggression and Greece has a special alliance with Turkey. The latter is a very strong factor in the Balkans through the > Balkan Entente.

The outbreak of war seems to have reduced pro-German sympathies in the Balkan States, and they have remained neutral so far. They seem to look to Italy for support in maintaining their neutrality.

The Balkan States have made considerable strides in the last 20 years. Yugoslavia (formerly Serbia) and Rumania have grown greatly in size and strength, and reached an appreciable degree of industrialisation. Still, the Balkans remain a prevailingly agricultural region, about 80% of the population being

BALTIC STATES]

engaged in farming and cattle-breeding. The masses of Balkan peasantry are still poor and backward, with high percentages of illiteracy; post-war land reforms have improved the distribution of soil, but indebtedness and lack of capital are keeping the smallholder down. The peasant problem is likely to decide the fate of the Balkans some day. Internal difficulties, largely based upon this problem, have resulted in the setting-up of royal and military dictatorships, and questions of the régime continue to form the primary issue of the Balkans besides those of foreign policy.

BALTIC STATES, a collective noun for > Lithuania, > Latvia, > Estonia and > Finland, which were formerly Russian provinces, but became independent in 1918 and have existed as buffer States between Soviet Russia and the West. It seems that Russian aspirations to the reacquisition of these countries were only temporarily given up. By tradition Russia is anxious to obtain ice-free ports, together with control of the Baltic. In September and October 1939 Russia availed herself of the European war to force Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to agree to establishment of Russian naval bases and garrisons on their territory. German influence in this region was ousted by Russia, and German minorities were shipped to Germany. Finland was forced by war (Dec. 1939—March 1940) to cede vital strategic areas to Soviet Russia.

BASQUES, a people of about 2,000,000 on the northern coast of Spain, with a branch in south-western France, speaking a language quite different from Spanish and not related to any other European tongue. The Spanish Basques have long striven for autonomy within Spain and obtained it from the Republican Government, with whom they sided in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939. The Basques were, however, defeated by General Franco and their country was occupied by the Spanish nationalists in 1937. All their privileges and linguistic rights were suppressed. The Basque region, the capital of which is Bilbao, is rich in iron ores.

BELGIUM, Kingdom of, 11,775 sq. m., population 8,300,000, the most densely populated country in Europe. King Leopold III, born 1901, succeeded to the throne on February 23, 1934, after the tragic death of King Albert I. After close collaboration with France since the Great War of 1914–1918, Belgium announced in 1936 her intention to revert to her pre-war policy of neutrality, and on the outbreak of the present war she made a corresponding declaration. It is the position of Belgium on the northern flank of France which invited a German march-through in 1914. Belgium belongs to the > Low Countries, an attack on which has never been tolerated by Britain.

The Dutch-speaking > Flemings or Flemish strive for autonomy within the framework of the state. They form slightly more than one-half of the population, the other half are French-speaking Walloons. French and Flemish are official languages.

Strongest party is the Belgian Catholic Bloc (73 deputies), divided into three autonomous sections since 1936, when

THE BALTIC

- ESTONIA
- LATVIA
- LITHUANIA
- USSR
- GERMANY



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BENEŠ

disintegration over the Flemish question was threatening the Old Catholic Party: the *Parti social catholique*, the *Katholieke Vlaamsche Volkspartij* and the Christian Democrats, i.e., the Christian labour unions. There is a common directorate. Basis of this rather right-wing party is the Flemish peasantry, the industrial middle-class, the nobility and a considerable portion of labour. Policy: Catholicism, freedom from alliances, conservative social reforms. Their attitude to the Flemish question is divided. Leaders: Jaspar, Theunis, Janssen, Heymans, van Cauwelaert, G. Sap, Count d'Aspremont, de Broqueville and Carton de Wiart. Second strongest are the Socialists (64 deputies), standing for moderate socialism according to the > De Man plan; leaders are Huysmans, Spaak, de Brouckere, de Man. Third are the Liberals, a party based prevailingly on French-speakers. Policy: Belgian patriotism, national defence, pro-French. Leader, P. E. Janson. The Flemish Nationalists (*Vlaamsch Nationalaal Verbond*) have only 17 deputies but considerable indirect influence. Their leaders are Staf de Clerq and B. H. J. Berginon. They enjoy the favour of Germany. Besides, there are 9 Communists in the Chamber of Representatives, and 4 Rexists, the remains of > Degrelle's fascist "Rex" movement.

The Catholic-Liberal-Socialist coalition governing under Spaak since 1937 was relieved by a Catholic-Liberal coalition under Hubert Pierlot, the present Premier, after the election of April 2, 1939.

The Belgian army has a strength of 86,000 in peace and 600,000 in war, is excellently trained and equipped. There are strong fortifications. The Belgian Congo, Belgium's African colony, covers 927,000 sq. m. with a native population of 10,000,000, and is enormously rich in mineral and other resources. Chief products: copper, gold, diamonds, radium. Under a League Mandate, Belgium also administers the territory of Ruanda Urundi, a former part of German East Africa.

BENEŠ, Edward, Ph.D., (pron. "Benesh") former President of Czechoslovakia. Born May 25, 1884, at Kozlany, near Pilsen, Bohemia, son of a Czech smallholder, studied in Paris, became Professor at a commercial college in Prague in 1909, joined > Masaryk's secret anti-Austrian movement after the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, went illegally to Switzerland in 1915, became Masaryk's right-hand man, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council, Foreign Minister when the Council was recognized as Czechoslovak Government, and held this office continuously in all Czechoslovak Governments from 1918 to 1935 when he was elected President of the Republic in succession to Masaryk. From September 1921 to October 1922, Dr. Beneš was also Prime Minister. He was responsible for Czechoslovakia's steady orientation to France and England, a sincere and devoted friend of the Western Democracies. He also created the Little Entente, an anti-Hungarian alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania, and the alliance with Russia was concluded under his presidency. In domestic policies he was a convinced democrat, a member of

the Czech National-Socialist party (a democratic left-wing party of workers and middle-class people which has nothing to do with German National-Socialism) and was persistently opposed by the Czech right-wing parties, mainly the Agrarians. Elected President on December 18, 1935, he tackled the minority problem by concession and reconciliation, but it was too late. He resigned after the Munich agreement on October 5, 1938, left Czechoslovakia on October 22, lectured at Chicago University subsequently and has lived in England since July 1939. After the outbreak of the present war, Dr. Benes took the lead in the movement for the restoration of Czechoslovak freedom in close collaboration with the Allied Governments.

BERLIN-BAGHDAD LINE, the idea of a German-controlled political system stretching from Germany across the Balkans and Turkey to Baghdad and the > Mosul oilfields. A slogan of German imperialism before and during the last war, the line was intended to take shape as the Baghdad Railway. Nazi Germany's expansion to the South-East prior to the present war indicated a revival of the Berlin-Baghdad plan. The railway has not been completed to this day: the connecting track between Turkey and Baghdad is still missing.

BESSARABIA, north-eastern province of > Rumania, 17,150 sq. m., 2,867,000 inhabitants, of whom are 1,609,000 Rumanians, 353,000 Russians, Ukrainians, besides 315,000 including Jews, Tartars, Bulgarians and other minorities.

The province belonged originally to the Principality of Moldavia, one of the constituent parts of Rumania, but was taken by Russia in 1812. The southern part was given back to Rumania in 1856. Rumania lost the province again to Russia in 1878 in return for Russian help against the Turks, but regained it in 1919. Soviet Russia has not, however, given up her claims to the province, and has consistently refused to recognise its annexation by Rumania. See map of the Danubian Basin.

BI-LATERAL AGREEMENTS, agreements between two parties as opposed to multi-lateral agreements, concluded among more than two parties.

BLITZKRIEG (German, "lightning war"), the idea of rapidly destroying the opponent by one or several concentrated, annihilating blows. Regarded as the strategic doctrine of Germany since Hitler, reflecting the position of a country less fit for a long war owing to economic conditions. The *Blitzkrieg* doctrine was successfully applied by Germany in the Polish campaign in September 1939, but Germany has so far failed to try it out against the Allies in the west. The doctrine seems hardly applicable against a powerful and well-equipped enemy.

BLOCKADE, the prevention of enemy shipping and of supplies reaching the enemy by sea. The Great War of 1914-1918 proved the decisive importance of the blockade as a weapon against countries dependent on foreign supplies. International law prescribes that a blockade is recognised only if sufficient naval forces are available to make it effective. Interference

with neutral shipping in connection with a blockade has been a much-discussed subject of international law during and after the last war. A blockade may be exercised against the enemy's coasts only and not against the shores of neutrals. Consequently the enemy is still able to obtain supplies across neutral countries. These considerations have caused the Allied Powers not to declare a formal blockade on Germany either in the last or the present war, but to apply the laws of contraband and reprisals instead. The law of contraband allows a belligerent to stop any supplies likely to be intended for enemy use even if they take their way via neutral ports. While a blockade places a ban on both the entrance and the egress of ships, the law of contraband allows only the stopping of cargoes going in. This would leave the enemy's exports undisturbed. They may, however, be interfered with on the strength of the law of reprisals as soon as the enemy encroaches on international law on his part. Germany having done so by the adoption of unrestricted mine warfare, there is no legal obstacle to the application of the law of reprisals.

BLUM, Léon, French Socialist leader, born in 1872 in Paris of well-to-do parents, took degrees in philosophy and law, became a lawyer, displayed also literary activities as a critic and author. He turned to Socialism during the Dreyfus affair, and founded, together with Jaurès and Briand, the daily *L'Humanité* (later taken over by the Communists). After the assassination of Jaurès in 1914 Blum became a deputy, represented the Seine 1919-1928 and was elected in 1929 for Narbonne, which seat he has held since. He became chairman of the Socialist Party. Blum opposed Socialist participation in the Government until the formation of the Popular Front in 1936 when he became the first Socialist Prime Minister in France. He took office on June 4, 1936, stemmed the Fascist movement in France, carried out a series of reforms, including the introduction of the 40-hour-week, nationalisation of war industries, devaluation of the franc and State control over the Banque de France. Shortly after his advent to office, however, the Spanish civil war broke out, and Blum, refusing to comply with the Spanish Popular Front's request for the supply of arms, entered upon a policy of non-intervention. The subsequent gradual advance of the Franco troops in Spain, in common with domestic developments, especially unsatisfactory economic results, weakened the position of the Popular Front Government in France. On June 20, 1937, the French Senate refused Blum authority for emergency decrees, and Blum resigned. He became Deputy Prime Minister in the Chautemps Cabinet which succeeded him, and Premier for the second time on March 13, 1938. But his Government was weak (the German annexation of Austria occurred during this time) and he resigned after 26 days, to be succeeded by Daladier.

BOHEMIA, principal province of Czechoslovakia, including the city of Prague. Situated in the centre of Europe, Bohemia has always been a pivotal point in European politics. "The master of Bohemia is the master of Europe," said Bismarck. Through the Munich agreement the Sudeten-German border

districts which had always belonged to Bohemia were detached and annexed to Germany. After the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany in March 1939 the Czech-inhabited part of Bohemia and the neighbouring province of Moravia were made the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" within the German Reich. The annexation has been formally recognised by Soviet Russia only, and it is a declared object of the present war to undo it.

BOLIVIA, South American republic, 420,000 sq. m., population 3,200,000, of whom 50% Indians, 28% mixed races, the rest whites. Rich but little developed country. Mining (base metals) is the chief industry. Bolivia produces 15% of the world's tin and is also a large producer of antimony and silver. One of the largest mine owners is Señor Patino, the present ambassador in Paris. American companies are also interested in Bolivian mining. Special problems concern the natives and the lack of an outlet to the sea. Bolivia is barred from the near-by Pacific by a strip of Chilean land, and for a long time struggled in vain to get possession of the port of Arica. Then she turned to the East to reach the Paraguay River which offers a navigable way to the Atlantic, though across foreign territory. This was one of the reasons for the long Bolivian-Paraguayan dispute over the Gran Chaco.

This undeveloped area, notorious for its deadly climate, extends over 100,000 sq. m. It is said to contain oil. The last Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay lasted from July 1932 to June 1935, and ended with a compromise, based on the arbitration of the U.S.A. and five South American republics. Bolivia obtained 30,000, Paraguay 70,000 sq. m. of the Chaco, and Bolivia remained at a distance of 270 miles from the Paraguay River. She obtained only free transit of goods. On May 17, 1936, a *coup d'état*, headed by Lieut.-Col. German Busch, Chief of Staff, made Colonel Toro provisional President. On July 31, 1937, Lieut.-Col. German Busch deposed Toro by another *coup d'état*. A Constituent Assembly elected Busch President. The parliament, elected in March 1938, has 103 members, almost all of the United Socialist Front. The Parliament adopted a new Constitution in May, 1938 and adjourned for a long time. The Cabinet is predominantly Socialist. The so-called Socialists are in fact a sort of fascists. The country is virtually under a military dictatorship. While some social legislation has been passed, no attempt at nationalisation of wealth has been made. President Busch was shot mysteriously on August 22, 1939, and succeeded by Colonel Quintanilla, and he in turn by General Penaranda.

BOLSHEVISM, an alternative name for > Communism. When the Russian Social-Democratic Party split over the issue of radicalism or moderation in 1903, the radical faction headed by > Lenin polled the majority of votes at the Party congress. The Russian for "majority" is "bolshinstvó", and hence the radicals were called "bolsheviks", meaning "members of the majority". The moderate Socialists were called "mensheviks", derived from "menshinstvó", minority. In western countries the word Bolshevik is generally used in a derogatory sense.

In Soviet Russia it is a title of honour and the Communist Party calls itself to this day "Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)."

BONNET, Georges, French politician. Born in 1889 at Bassillac, Dordogne, son of a judge, became a lawyer, served in the last War, first as a sergeant, then as a lieutenant (*croix de guerre, légion d'honneur*), Radical deputy for Don since 1924, Minister of Finance in 1933, of Commerce in 1935, French Ambassador in Washington in 1937. Called back to become Minister of Finance under Chautemps, re-adopted a conservative course in French finance after the Popular Front experiment, was made Foreign Minister in April 1938. Was responsible for France's detachment from her Czech obligations and one of the greatest believers in the > Munich agreement. Bonnet stands on the right wing of the Radical Party and was included in > Reynaud's Cabinet of March 1940.

BOSPHORUS > Dardanelles.

BOURBON, once the French royal dynasty, banned from France since the establishment of the republic in 1871. After the extinction of the pure Bourbon line in the 'nineties, the Bourbon-Orléans branch has been recognised by the French royalists as the legitimate pretender to the throne. Its head is the Duke of Guise (styled King Henry V by his followers), living in Belgium. Neither he nor his son, who calls himself Count of Paris, is allowed to enter France (> Action Française). The Spanish line of the Bourbons has been dethroned since 1931, but has been making efforts to be called back to Spain since Franco's victory in the civil war. Its head is ex-King > Alfonso XIII, born 1886, living at present in Rome.

BOURGEOISIE, French word for "citizen class" (compare "burgher"), a term used by Marxist Socialists to denote the class of proprietors (other than agricultural), capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, persons with a business of their own, leading employees and members of liberal professions equal to them in income, education and social standing, as opposed to the "proletariat", the have-not class without any property of their own, living only through the sale of their labour. The bourgeoisie is sub-divided into the big bourgeoisie, consisting of industrialists, financiers, &c., and the petty bourgeoisie, composed of small artisans, shopkeepers, &c., and not far from the proletariat in their standard of living. With the rise of modern factory production, the bourgeoisie became, according to this theory, the ruling class in all industrial countries, overthrowing the formerly ruling feudal class or aristocracy and its obsolete economic system. The rise of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by the spread of liberal ideas necessary to break the feudal bondage. According to the Marxist theory, the bourgeois class is doomed to be succeeded by the Socialist proletariat, and while defending itself against its presumptive successor, it drops its liberal ideas and turns to dictatorial systems to uphold its power. The petty bourgeoisie is gradually proletarianised in this stage and drifts towards the proletariat, while the big bourgeoisie is reduced to a small number of powerful capitalists who control the nation's resources.

BRAIN TRUST, a nickname given to a body of professors and experts who advised President Roosevelt in 1932 at the start of the New Deal policy. It included Professors Moley, Rexford G. Tugwell, Berle, Douglas, C. W. Taussig, Mordechai Ezekiel, Bunker James P. Warburg and Ambassador William C. Bullitt.

BRAZIL, United States of, largest South American republic, 3,285,000 sq. m., population 45,000,000. Capital Rio de Janeiro, language Portuguese. Brazil had been a republic with a federal Constitution on the model of the United States of America since 1889, when President Vargas seized power in 1930. He had a new constitution enacted in 1934, providing for a Senate of 40 members and a Chamber of Deputies with 213 members, one-fifth of whom is delegated by professional and trade associations. After his *coup d'état* in 1937 a dictatorial Constitution was decreed, concentrating all power in the President. Initially a friend of Germany and Italy, Vargas turned against Nazism and Fascism in 1938, crushed the Fascist "integralist" party and has pursued a course of friendship with the U.S.A. since. Brazil is one of the richest countries in the world, but still relatively undeveloped. Special problems (interwoven with the question of régime) are the struggle between centralism and the autonomism of the 20 States, and above all the coffee problem. Coffee is Brazil's vital export, and low coffee prices have caused more than one revolution in the country. Since 1931 enormous quantities of Brazilian coffee have been destroyed every year in order to maintain a tolerable price. Greatest trade partners are the U.S.A. (about one-half); Great Britain and Germany.

BREST-LITOVSK Treaty of, the treaty of peace concluded between Russia on the one side, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey on the other, on March 3, 1918, at Brest-Litovsk, West Ukraine. Russia, just in the turmoil of the Communist revolution, sought peace at any price, and Germany dictated the terms. Russia had to renounce sovereignty in favour of Germany and Austria over Russian Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and certain islands in the Baltic Sea. In addition she had to recognise the independence of the Ukraine (where Germany had set up a puppet State at that time), of Finland and Georgia (where German troops were operating). Russia had also to agree to the payment of reparations of 6,000,000,000 marks in gold. She lost 34% of her population, 54% of her industry and 90% of her coal-mines. She was cut off from the Black Sea and practically also from the Baltic. The treaty was a model of what a victorious Germany might be expected to impose on her defeated adversaries, and was often quoted afterwards when the Germans complained of the treaty of Versailles. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk was abrogated in the armistice agreement of November 11, 1918, on demand of the Western Powers and formally annulled in the treaty of Versailles.

BRITISH ARMY, The British Army consisted of three parts before the outbreak of the present war:

1) The Regular Army a professional army based on

BRITISH EMPIRE]

voluntary enlistment. The normal term of service was seven years, with another five years in the Army Reserve with liability to be called up in an emergency. The authorised establishment of the Regular Army was 164,000, to which had to be added 57,000 men stationed in India at the cost of the Indian, not the British, Government. The actual strength of the Regulars was slightly below that authorised at mid-year, 1939. The Army Reserve numbered about 140,000.

(2) The Territorial Army, a citizen force with a short training, based on voluntary enrolment for four years. Territorials underwent, without interrupting their professional or other civilian activities, a certain amount of evening and week-end drill, and attended annual training camps. In April 1939 it was decided to double the strength of the T.A., in consequence of which the establishment rose to 440,000. There was also a women's branch of the T.A., the Auxiliary Territorial Service (A.T.S.) for women, doing auxiliary non-combatant work.

(3) The Militia, based on conscription and created by the Military Training Act of May 26, 1939. Every fit man of 20 was liable to service; the term of training was six months. One annual class of militiamen comprised about 200,000 men. The first group of 34,000 men was called up for training on July 15, 1939.

After the outbreak of war the various parts of the Army were unified into one British Army on September 6, 1939. Conscription for all men from 18 to 41 was adopted. By February 1940, men from 20-23 had been called up, and the total number of men under arms was over 1,200,000.

Besides these, overseas forces include the Indian troops, numbering more than 200,000, and the armies of the various Dominions.

BRITISH EMPIRE or BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, as it is more and more frequently called, area 13,290,000 sq. m. or one-fifth of the earth, population 487,000,000, or one-fifth of mankind. The British Commonwealth consists of the following parts:

(1) The United Kingdom of > Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

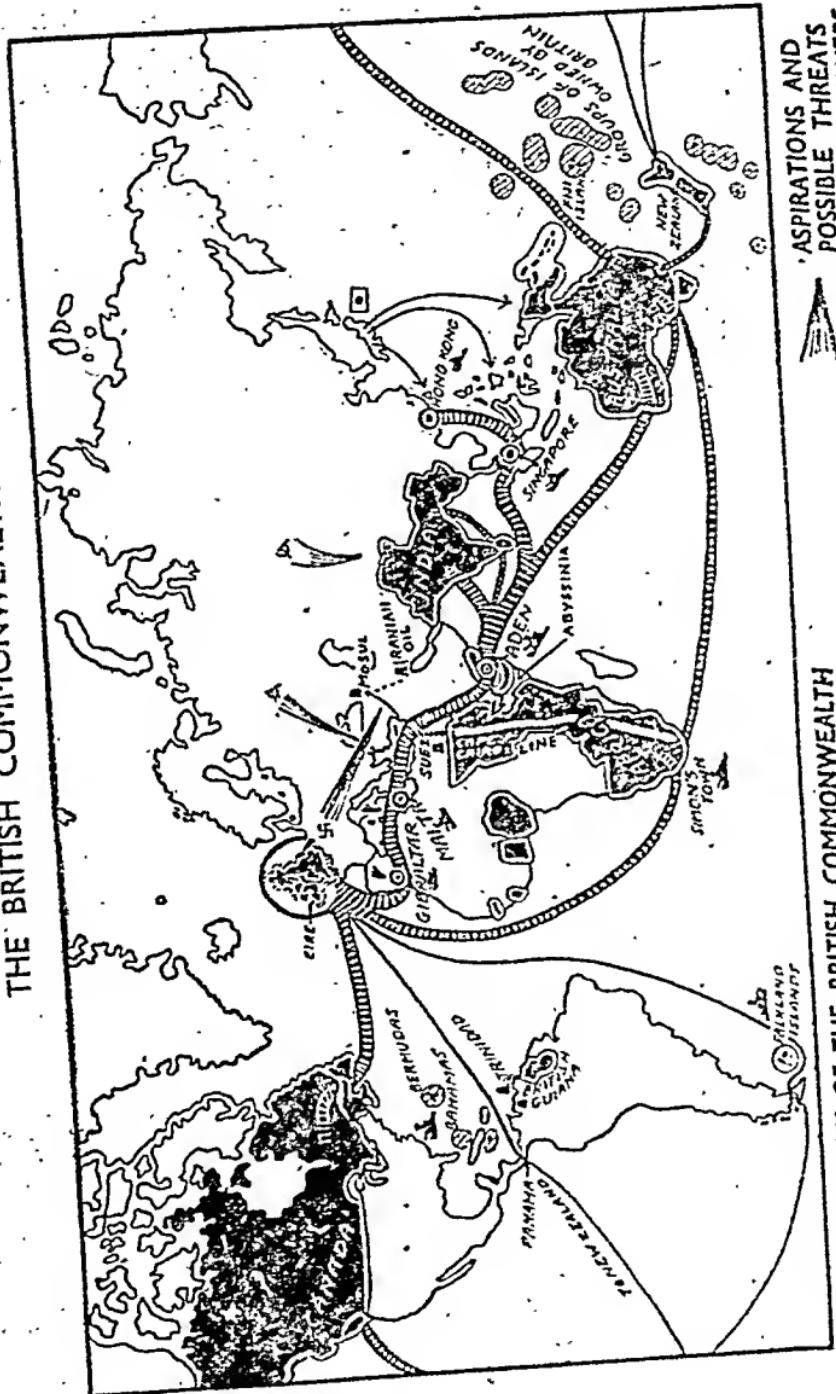
(2) The self-governing Dominions : > Canada, > Australia, > New Zealand, > South Africa and > Eire (Ireland). The Dominion status of > Newfoundland has been suspended since 1933.

(3) > India and > Burma.

(4) The Colonial or Dependent Empire, consisting of the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories.

The British Commonwealth is a unique political formation. It is neither a State nor a Federation; it has no written constitution, no Parliament of its own, no Government of its own, no central defence force or executive power. It is a product of history and development, grown, not designed, and the relationship between its members is still in process of evolution. The self-governing Dominions were set up by Acts of the British Parliament, but have acquired virtually sovereign status in the course of time. Until 1926 the Parliament at Westminster

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was regarded as the supreme legislative authority of the Empire. It was the source from which the constitutions and rights of the Dominions flowed, it had made their basic laws and was, in theory at least, entitled to withdraw or to alter them. The King was the head of the Empire, and as he was bound to act on the advice of parliamentary ministers, the Royal prerogative in the Dominions, particularly the right of veto, could be used as an instrument of the British Parliament's supremacy. After their great contributions in the World War of 1914-1918, however, the Dominions urged recognition as equal member-States of the Empire. This was fulfilled by the Balfour Memorandum, the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the 1926 Imperial Conference. The Dominions as well as the United Kingdom were defined as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The report continued, however: "The principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function." The Dominions went on to urge formal abolition of the supremacy of the British Parliament. The result was the Statute of Westminster. This Statute, laid down by the Imperial Conference of 1931, empowered Dominion Parliaments to repeal or amend any Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom applying to them. No Act of the Parliament at Westminster was henceforth to extend to a Dominion unless that Dominion had consented to it. Any possibility of applying the Colonial Laws Validity Act to Dominions was removed. In point of fact, no attempt to interfere with Dominion government had been made for decades, but now formal law was brought into line with actual practice.

Under the Statute of Westminster the Dominions proceeded to constitutional measures codifying and stressing their "independent, sovereign status within the British Commonwealth of Nations" as recognised by the Statute. The actual position is to-day that the Dominions are sovereign States governed solely by their own Parliaments and Governments. The King is bound to act in matters concerning a Dominion only on the advice of his Ministers in that Dominion. The Governments of the member-States are equal in status and spoken of as "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom", "His Majesty's Government in Canada", &c., respectively. The King is as much and as directly King of Canada, Australia, &c., as he is King of Great Britain, a fact which was stressed during the Royal visit to Canada in 1939. (> George VI.) The Dominions also expressly reserve the right of decision on war and peace, and while formerly the principle "When the King is at war, the Empire is at war" was applied automatically, individual declarations of war by each Dominion after a vote of its own Parliament are now required unless the Dominion decides on neutrality. On this basis, all Dominions joined Britain in the present war, except for Eire, which declared

neutrality. Eire and certain groups in South Africa adhere to the theory of the "divisible Crown", reducing the Imperial connection to a mere personal union as that which existed between Britain and Hanover under the first Georges. By this theory the King may be simultaneously at war as King of Great Britain, but at peace as King of a Dominion.

There is a common status of British subjecthood for all citizens of the Commonwealth, but the member-States are free to establish qualified local nationalities in addition to it.

In the economic field, the various members of the Commonwealth grant each other Imperial Preference (> Ottawa Agreements). In spite of their vast undeveloped resources and their thin populations the Dominions have not encouraged immigration in the past 20 years, partly in order to protect their high standard of wages from competition by immigrants, and partly because of their reluctance to accept immigrants of other than British stock.

The Crown is represented by a Governor-General in each Dominion (with the exception of Eire). He performs the Royal functions, except when the King is in the Dominion, and in certain other cases.

The Dominions maintain High Commissioners in London while the United Kingdom maintains High Commissioners in the capitals of all Dominions.

There is a Minister of Dominion Affairs in the British Cabinet. The exchange of High Commissioners between the Dominions themselves is in course of realisation. The Dominions may also maintain their own Legations in foreign States as is already done by Canada, South Africa, Australia and Eire. The British Government is permanently in the closest touch and consultation with the Dominions on all questions of foreign policy.

The Empire's: unwritten constitution reflects the spirit of the British liberties as well as the British dislike of abstract formulations and rigid prescriptions in constitutional affairs. The connecting link of the Empire is the Crown, but actually it is kept together by *imponderabilia* which have hitherto proved as effective as any written constitution might have done. Community of interests, a common outlook on politics and life in general, the clearly felt need for mutual aid and defence, and the British tradition of the English-speaking parts of the Commonwealth may be mentioned among these factors.

The only common yet unofficial organ of the Commonwealth is the Imperial Conference which meets at irregular intervals. In the Great War of 1914-1918, an Imperial Government including Dominion Ministers was set up in London, but it was common only in respect of the prosecution of the war, while the Dominion Governments as such continued to govern in their respective territories. India has been represented at the Imperial Conference since 1907, and lately Burma and Southern Rhodesia.

The Dependent Empire is under the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom but the actual administration ranges from absolute power of the British Governor to considerable degrees of local autonomy or native home rule under the supervision of British advisers. For India and Burma see separate articles.

BRITISH LEGION]

BRITISH LEGION, an association of British veterans of the Great War of 1914-1918, founded by Earl Haig in 1921. The activities of the Legion consist mainly in welfare and relief work in favour of ex-servicemen and their families. Chairman is Sir Francis Fetherston-Godley, O.B.E., membership exceeds 500,000. The Legion has 4,370 branches and a women's section, comprising female relatives of members, with 1,800 branches. The Legion pays 2,000 pensions of 10s. a week. Its symbol is the Flanders poppy, and it runs the Richmond poppy factory for the manufacture of poppies sold every Armistice Day.

BRITISH NAVY: Strength at mid-year 1939: 15 battleships, 62 cruisers, 7 aircraft carriers, 168 destroyers, 54 submarines. 9 battleships, 22 cruisers, 6 aircraft carriers, 40 destroyers and 18 submarines were building. In the first six months of the present war, 1 battleship, 1 aircraft carrier, 6 destroyers and 4 submarines were lost, while 2 battleships and 1 cruiser were damaged. On the other hand, building programmes were extended and speeded up, and though no fresh figures are available, the actual fighting strength of the Navy, in particular in smaller vessels, is higher than before the war. The personnel of the Navy was 133,000 before the war, besides a reserve of 70,000. The above figures include the Dominion Navies (Australia: 6 cruisers, 5 destroyers; New Zealand: 2 cruisers; Canada: 6 destroyers).

The British Navy is the strongest in the world. The right of the U.S. to parity has been recognised, but in fact the U.S. Navy is slightly behind the British in tonnage. Britain is a party to the > Naval Treaty of London.

BRITISH UNION, Sir Oswald > Mosley's Fascist movement.

BRÜNING, Dr. Heinrich, ex-Chancellor of the German Republic, member of the Catholic Centre party, right-wing, was Chancellor during the rise of the Nazi party, initiated dictatorial rule with emergency decrees in 1931 when Nazi victory in elections had rendered the Reichstag incapable of producing a working majority. Tried in vain to tame Nazis, was dismissed by President Hindenburg in 1932 on account of his modest programme for a small-holdings policy in East Germany by which the feudal landowners felt themselves threatened. Brüning, while himself anti-Nazi, has been criticised for having paved the way for Nazism by demolishing German democracy and fostering authoritarian thought. Nevertheless, his régime was the last in Germany which could, by a considerable stretch of imagination, still be called republican, and there can be no doubt of the pure intentions and high character of this Christian statesman. After the first year of Hitler rule Brüning went to the United States where he lectured at Harvard University.

BUCHAREST, TREATY OF, the peace treaty concluded between Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria on the one side and Rumania on the other on May 7, 1918. The Central Powers dictated utterly harsh terms which were often referred to afterwards when the Germans complained of the treaty of Versailles. Rumania had to disband her army and to remain under German-

Austrian occupation until "times later to be agreed upon". She had to cede the whole Rumanian side of the Carpathians to Hungary which made her strategically defenceless. She had to cede the Dobrudja which was divided into a Bulgarian zone in the south and a German-Austrian condominium in the north, the latter including the port of Constanza. Rumania had to undertake to supply foodstuffs to Germany and Austria for years at fixed prices and to lease her oilfields to Germany for ninety-nine years. The treaty was abrogated in the armistice agreement of November 11, 1918, on demand of the Western Powers and formally annulled by the treaty of Versailles. A few hours before the armistice Rumania again declared war on Germany so as to be able to come to the peace conference as one of the Allied Powers.

BUFFER STATE, a small State established or preserved between two greater States to prevent direct clashes between them.

BULGARIA, Kingdom of, 39,000 sq. m., population 6,000,000, capital Sofia, ruler King Boris III. of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dynasty. Queen Giovanna was formerly an Italian princess. Successful in the first Balkan War against Turkey in 1912, Bulgaria was deprived of the booty in the second Balkan War in 1913 when her former allies, Serbia and Greece, turned against her together with Rumania. In the World War Bulgaria sided with Germany in 1915 and collapsed, after initial success, in October 1918. The peace treaty of Neuilly (1919) forced her to cede a strip of Macedonian territory to Greece and Yugoslavia; to pay reparations and to disarm. King Ferdinand I abdicated in favour of his son, Boris, and has lived in Germany since. The radical peasant party came to power under the leadership of Stambuliski. This "green dictatorship" was characterised by reforms and Communist sympathies on the one side, by persecution of all other parties on the other. Stambuliski was the first in Europe to introduce the labour service system. He improved relations with Yugoslavia, and dreamt of South Slav unity under peasant leadership. He was overthrown by a *coup d'état* on June 9, 1923, led by the army and four parties which merged to remove the agrarian reformers. Stambuliski was shot. An era of civil disturbance followed with continuous terror, bomb plots, murders, &c., culminating in the great bomb explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia in 1925. In 1926 a Democrat, Lyaptcheff, restored order, tried internal reconciliation, ruled liberally, obtained a League loan for Bulgaria. After 1931 unrest grew again. The Macedonians, always a powerful factor in Bulgarian politics, became active, and the Communists obtained 19 out of 35 seats in the Sofia Municipal Council in 1932. The Communists were twice suppressed, but reappeared in various disguises. A government of the right-wing National Union was overthrown by a *coup d'état* on May 19, 1933, carried out by the "Captains' League" and the fascist "Zveno" Club. The Constitution was suspended, parliament and parties were dissolved. Colonel Velcheff, leader of the military league, suppressed the Macedonian I.M.R.O. terrorists who had formed a State-within-the-State, reformed the administration, reduced the peasants'

BUREAUCRACY]

debts, proclaimed a moratorium for foreign loans. King Boris, who had kept in the background, seized the dictatorship himself in October 1935, liquidated the league of Zveno, and Colonel Velcheff was given the death sentence, afterwards commuted to life imprisonment. The King has steered an authoritarian course since, but admitted some opposition and electoral competition. The last election in March 1938, carried out on the basis of a franchise with qualifications and greatly limited freedom of speech, resulted in 104 governmental and 56 opposition deputies being elected to the Sobranye or Parliament. The Sobranye obediently approved of all decrees issued during the preceding years. The unofficially surviving Democrats and Agrarians back the King, but Tsankoff's pro-German Fascists oppose him. In October 1939 the Sobranye was dissolved again and the trend towards constitutionalism, visible before, gave way to reinforced dictatorship. An election held under these conditions on January 30, 1940, returned 140 Government deputies as against only 20 opposition deputies. Premier Kiessievanoff was replaced by Professor Philoff, who is said to be more in favour of Balkan collaboration.

In foreign policy Bulgaria is the *bête noire* of the Balkans. While Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey live in friendship, Bulgaria has territorial claims against all her neighbours. She claims > Macedonia from Yugoslavia and Greece, an outlet to the Aegean Sea (Salonica) from Greece and the > Dobrudja from Rumania. About one million Bulgarians live outside the country as minorities. The other Balkan States have concluded the > Balkan Entente against Bulgaria, and she has been looking to Germany for help. Reminiscences of the World War when she bet on the wrong horse have suggested themselves, however, and Bulgaria has improved her relations with Yugoslavia (by the non-aggression pact of 1937) and the other Balkan States in the last two years, being in return allowed free rearmament in the Salonica agreement of July 31, 1938. Germany had achieved control of about 60% of Bulgaria's foreign trade before the outbreak of the present war, Britain, second-largest partner, 12%. Production is almost entirely agricultural. In the present war Bulgaria has remained neutral so far. See map of the Danubian Basin I.

BUREAUCRACY originally a satirical combination of French *bureau* and Greek *krattein*, to rule, on the analogy of "democracy" and "aristocracy", now used as a serious term for (a) the rule of a caste of high officials, (b) this caste itself (hence bureaucrat).

BURMA, member of the British Commonwealth, 262,000 sq. m., population 15,000,000. Formerly a province of India, Burma was detached from the latter in 1935 (Government of Burma Act, 1935) and set up as a separate entity within the British Commonwealth with initial stages of self-government and a declared policy of developing responsible Government in due course on lines similar to the Government of India Act, 1935. The inhabitants of Burma are quite different from the people of India, and separation fulfilled a desire of the population. There are about 9,000,000 Burmese proper, an Indo-Mongo-

loid race with a language belonging to the Chinese-Tibetan group and a considerable standard of civilisation, 1,400,000 Karens and 1,000,000 Shans (two kindred but distinct peoples), 1,000,000 Indians and other racial groups. Burma is divided into Burma proper (190,000 sq. m.) and the Shan States (63,000 sq. m.), while a territory of about 8,000 sq. m. is unadministered. The capital is Rangoon in winter and Maymyo in summer. There is a Burmese Legislature, consisting of a Senate with 18 members appointed by the British Governor and 18 members elected by the House of Representatives; and the latter House, having 132 members elected on the basis of a franchise with qualifications, including women. The powers of the Governor and the limited autonomy of the Legislature resemble the present arrangement in the Indian provinces. First Burmese Premier was Dr. Ba Maw who also attended the Imperial Conference in 1937. He resigned in 1939 in the course of a dispute over the Burma-China road. A large road had been built from Lashio, the northern terminus of the Burmese railway coming from Rangoon, and Chung-king, the new capital of fighting nationalist China, with a view to opening up the south-western regions of China to economic development and of sending supplies to Chiang Kai Shek's Government. This aroused Japanese dislike and certain Burmese circles, presumably under Japanese influence, demanded the closing of the road, asserting that it would be an inlet for Chinese immigration.

The 34 Shan States are administered by their own Chiefs under the advice of British Political Officers, and do not participate in the Rangoon Legislature. Burma is a very rich country, covered with vast forests and producing oil (though the main oilfield, Yenangyaung, has shown signs of gradual exhaustion in the last few years), tin, wolfram, other metals and precious stones.

CABALLERO, Francisco Largo, Spanish Labour leader, born 1869, a mason by profession, worked in the trade union movement, became secretary of the Confederación General de Trabajadores, then chairman of the Spanish Socialist Party. Was seven times imprisoned, sentenced to death in 1917 but released. Stood on the extreme left wing of the Party and was styled the "Spanish Lenin". Became Minister of Labour in Azaña's republican Government 1931-1933, was temporarily imprisoned under Léon Trotsky in October 1934. In the Spanish civil war he became Prime Minister of the Republicans in September 1936, and though not so radical as many had expected, he was ousted by the more moderate elements in the republican camp and superseded by Negrín in May 1937. Escaped to France at the collapse of the republic.

CAMEROONS, The, 166,000 sq. m., population 3,000,000, former German colony in West Africa, now held by France and Great Britain under a League Mandate. France holds the greater part while Britain administers only about one-fifth of the territory. Cocoa, bananas, timber and palm oil are the principal products. Together with Togo, the Cameroons are most valuable among the former German colonies, and of great strategic importance.

CANADA, Dominion of, member of the British Commonwealth, 3,695,000 sq. m., population 11,200,000. The basis of the Canadian Constitution is the British North America Act of 1867 which united the Canadian Provinces into a Federation, providing that the principles of government should be similar to those in Great Britain.

The Canadian Parliament consists of a House of Commons and a Senate. The House of Commons is elected for a five-year term. The Senators are appointed for life by the Governor-General in Council. The Governor-General represents the King, in whose name he gives the Royal Assent to Bills of Parliament. When the King visited Canada in 1939 he performed the Royal functions himself, appeared in the Canadian Parliament, promulgated Bills and received the credentials of the U.S. Minister to Canada, thus stressing the sovereign status of Canada under the British Crown.

Canada is a Federation of nine Provinces, viz. Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Besides, there are the North-West Territories and the Yukon Territory. Much of the public administration is in the hands of the Provinces which have their own legislatures (one chamber as a rule, though Quebec has two chambers) and Provincial Governments, but the Federal Government in Ottawa reserves the right of veto. Each province has a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General and promulgating the Provincial laws. The Federal veto-right was the subject of a dispute in 1938 between the Province of Alberta and the Dominion Government (Aberhart), but was upheld by the Canadian Supreme Court and the Privy Council.

Out of the Canadian population, 8 millions are Canadian-born, 1.2 million other British-born, 350,000 hail from the U.S.A., the rest are foreign-born. As to descent, 2.7 millions are of English, 1.3 million of Scottish, 1.2 million of Irish, 3 millions of French and 0.5 million of German stock, the rest originating from various other races. The French-Canadians have preserved their French language and civilisation. They live mostly in the Province of Quebec. French is used officially along with English, there is a complete French educational system with three universities, and the French-speaking Province of Quebec enjoys certain privileges, such as a two-chamber legislature and the constitutional right always to elect 65 members to the House of Commons; the other Provinces electing members in the same proportion to their population. The French section of the population is also amply represented in the Federal Government. Unlike the French in France, the French-Canadians are distinguished by a high birth-rate, substantially exceeding that of English-speaking Canadians, and it has been figured that within 50 years the French-speaking population will reach parity with the English-speaking or even become a majority, if the present ratio of the birth-rates of the two sections of the population continues. Immigration to Canada has been small for the last few years, fluctuating between 10,000 and 15,000 a year.

There are two main parties in Canada, the Liberal and the National-Conservative Parties. The Liberals have their bases in the French-speaking region and in the prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba), the Conservatives in the English-speaking eastern provinces, particularly the south of Ontario. The Liberals are the low-tariff party, have doubts about the Ottawa agreement, recommend special reciprocal trade treaties, emphasise the independent status of the Dominion, oppose State interference with economic affairs. In 1935 the Liberals won the election and succeeded the Conservative Government which had been in office previously. Leaders: Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, Raoul Dandurand, Ernest Lapointe, Ian Mackenzie, Thomas A. Crerar, C. A. Dunning. The National-Conservatives are the high-tariff party, adhere to the Ottawa agreement which they signed when in power, advocate a certain amount of Government interference with economic affairs, co-operative marketing of produce, social insurance, minimum wages, maximum hours of work. Leaders: Dr. Robert J. Manion, George Drew, M. Meighen, Sir George H. Perley, H. A. Stewart.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is Canada's Labour Party. It arose in 1932 by a merger of various Socialist and farmer groups. It has the usual labour programme, advocates nationalisation of banks, large public works, was also in favour of neutrality in war. Leader: J. S. Woodsworth. A clerical French group, with fascist leanings (the French-speaking parts of Canada are Catholic), *L'Union Nationale* governed the Province of Quebec from 1936 to 1939 under Maurice Duplessis, but when it opposed the Federal Government's war policy, it was beaten in the Provincial Election.

on October 25, 1939, the number of its seats being reduced from 76 to 15. The Liberals obtained 68 seats in Quebec as against 14 before.

In the Canadian House of Representatives (elected March 1940), there are 183 Liberals, 38 Conservatives, 8 New Democracy (Social Credit) and 8 Labour members. The Senate is composed of 57 Conservatives and 34 Liberals. When the present war broke out the Canadian Parliament was called to decide on participation, and approved of the declaration of war on Germany on September 9, 1939. The erection of large factories for aircraft and ammunition as a source of supplies to Britain and the training of airmen from all parts of the British Commonwealth are Canada's particular contribution in the war. The first Canadian troops arrived in England during September. When a vote in the Provincial Legislature of Ontario censured the Mackenzie King administration on the grounds that it was not mobilising Canada's full energy for the prosecution of the war, the Prime Minister decided to hold an election on the issue. Parliament was dissolved in January and polling fixed for March. The result was a sweeping victory for the Liberals, Dr. Manian, leader of the Conservatives, lost his seat.

Canada has her own diplomatic representation in the U.S.A., Japan, France, Belgium and Holland. The Canadian army consists of the permanent militia of 4,000 men and the non-permanent militia (similar to the British Territorial Army) with an actual establishment of 87,000. There is a Canadian Navy of 6 destroyers and a number of minesweepers, and a Royal Canadian Air Force. In the Great War of 1914-1918, Canada sent an army of 418,000 overseas. A Canadian Expeditionary Force is once more in Europe at the present time.

Cereals are Canada's chief production. She is one of the big wheat-supplying countries of the world. Wheat prices decide Canada's prosperity. The 1938 wheat crop was 340 million bushels, total crops valued 600 millions. Agriculture is carried on on large-scale methods, completely mechanised and industrialised. The importance of the mining industry is growing; most of the world's nickel is produced in Canada, gold is being mined in the north-west in an increasing degree, and there are large reserves in base metal ores, notably nickel. The immense wood reserves of Canada are proverbial.

American investments in Canada have reached a great size. Canada is a party to the Ottawa agreement (Imperial Preference) and to the tripartite Anglo-American-Canadian trade treaty of 1939. Exports totalled \$1,080 million, imports \$800 million in 1938. Chief markets were the U.S. (\$435 million), the United Kingdom (\$410 million), the rest of the British Commonwealth (\$60 million) imports came mainly from the U.S. (\$480 million), in a smaller degree from the U.K. (\$145 million) and the rest from the British Commonwealth (\$70 million).

National currency is the Canadian dollar, practically equal to the American dollar. Relations with the U.S. have been good for over 100 years. During a visit to Canada in 1938,

President Roosevelt declared that the U.S. would never tolerate an attack on Canada.

CAPE TO CAIRO LINE, the idea of a through British-controlled connection from the South to the North of Africa on the eastern side of the Continent. The territorial connection was realised by the acquisition of Tanganyika after the World War of 1914-1918, but there is no through railway so far. See map of the British Commonwealth.

CAPITALISM, the economic system under which the means of production and the apparatus of distribution, in short the whole economic machinery, are in the possession of private owners who run them at their discretion, driven by the urge for profit and in accordance with the possibilities of making profits at any given time. Capitalism is marked by the existence of a > proletariat which depends on the sale of its labour-power, and by production for the market without planning. The capitalist system is opposed by the Socialists, who aim at nationalising the economic apparatus and running it on definite plans under central management, the driving principle being not individual profit but public welfare. Socialism criticises capitalism as planless anarchy, leading to recurrent crises because of the lack of co-ordination among the various elements. Defenders of the capitalist or liberal system point to the great developments achieved under the reign of this system. They claim that private initiative and the sound effects of competition cannot be replaced by a bureaucratic system of State control and that the interest of capitalism is not opposed to, but necessarily identical with, public welfare. According to Socialist theories there is an inward tendency in capitalism leading to ever bigger concentration of capital in a few places, the larger and stronger enterprises ousting or absorbing the smaller and weaker ones, until a limited number of trusts, combines and banks virtually control the nation's economic life. Thus the liberal free-competition capitalism of former times passes into modern monopolist capitalism. The latter foreshadows something like Socialist economic administration, the enormous combines and groups being necessarily run along bureaucratic lines, with leading employees instead of owners, and striving to replace free competition by mutual agreements (cartels), incorporating a good deal of planning. Their driving motive is, however, not of a socialist nature; they seek profit for their shareholders and leading bureaucracy in the same way as the smaller capitalists were doing before.

CAPITULATIONS, treaties granting to foreign citizens the privilege of extra-territorial jurisdiction. Such treaties were formerly concluded by Turkey, Persia and other Mohammedan States, China and a few other Asiatic and African countries, and provided that foreigners resident in these countries should be tried only by their own consular courts. Capitulations date as far back as the 9th century. In recent times the respective States, awakening to a stronger feeling of national sovereignty, began to resent capitulations as a humiliation, and there has been a trend towards their abolition. Turkey ended capitulations

CARDENAS]

by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Persia did so in 1928, Siam in 1936, and Egypt was freed from capitulations by the Treaty of Montreux of October 15, 1937, providing for their termination after a period of transition of 12 years during which mixed tribunals will be maintained for certain matters. At present capitulations remain only in China and parts of Morocco.

CARDENAS, General Lazaro, President of > Mexico, elected November 30, 1934, for a period ending December 1, 1940. Active and independently-thinking Socialist of specially Mexican colour, not fitting into any traditional Socialist pattern, initiated land reform, nationalised railways, oilfields and sugar industry, supported Spanish republicans in the 'civil' war, granted > Trotsky asylum in Mexico.

CAROL II, King of > Rumania, born on October 16, 1893, was Crown Prince until 1925 but then forced to resign ostensibly owing to his association with a Jewish lady, Mme. Lupescu, the true reason having probably been his political aversion to the then powerful Ion Bratianu. Stayed in France with Mme. Lupescu, was divorced by his wife, Princess Helen, his throne being occupied by his infant son, Michael, after the death of King Ferdinand in 1927. Returned to Rumania in 1930, at the invitation of the Premier > Maniu, who wanted him to become Regent. He was, however, proclaimed King by the National Assembly, and Maniu resigned. His rule has been strong and personal; and the 1938 Constitution, officially called the "Royal Revolution" and "the beginning of the Rumanian Renaissance", made his position practically absolute. He crushed the pro-Nazi Iron Guard in 1938. In the present war it has been his endeavour to maintain the neutrality of Rumania, but he had to make growing economic and other concessions to Germany. The Iron Guards were re-admitted in March 1940 after a formal declaration of loyalty.

CATALONIA, a region in the north-eastern corner of Spain, inhabited by the Catalans or Catalonians who speak a language akin to, but substantially differing from, Spanish. Catalonia comprises Spain's most important industrial region, including Barcelona, with about 6,000,000 inhabitants. The Catalans have for a long time striven for autonomy within the framework of Spain, and obtained it under the Republican Government with whom they sided in the Civil War 1936-1939. Catalanian nationalists and anarchists, the latter being traditionally strong in the region, displayed sectional tendencies in the course of the war, and finally the Republican Government took control of Catalonia. In January, 1939 General > Franco started his offensive on Catalonia, resulting in the conquest of Barcelona and the collapse of the republic. The Catalonian privileges were suppressed by the victor and centralist Spanish rule was re-established.

CENTRAL EUROPE, the region comprising Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Sometimes also Switzerland and Hungary are reckoned in Central Europe. During the World War of 1914-1918 a German imperialist named Naumann outlined a German-controlled Central European system called *Mittel-*

europa which was to comprise Germany and all the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. These ideas have been revived under Hitler.

CENTRALISM, the political system under which the whole country is controlled from a central point, as opposed to decentralised systems of administration such as federalism and regionalism, under which local units (States, Provinces) enjoy a greater or lesser degree of autonomy.

CHACO, > Bolivia.

CHAMBERLAIN, Houston Stewart, 1855-1927, English-born German political writer, one of the intellectual forerunners of National-Socialism, was born at Southsea, son of Rear-Admiral William C. Chamberlain, educated at Versailles, Cheltenham and Geneva. Married German girl, Anna Horst, in 1878; lived in Dresden, admired Richard Wagner, wrote books on him in French and German. Lived in Vienna subsequently and published there in 1899 his principal work *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts*. (The Foundations of the 19th-century, English translation 1911.) Other books were on Kant and Goethe. After 1908 he lived in Bayreuth where Wagner's daughter, Eva, became his second wife. Chamberlain regarded himself as a German, took sides with Germany in the war, attacked England vehemently, became naturalised in Germany in 1916. In the twenties, he came into loose touch with Hitler whom he described as Germany's hope. Hitler has admittedly been strongly influenced by Chamberlain's works. Chamberlain died at Bayreuth in 1927. His *Grundlagen* are a pseudo-scientific survey of history and civilisation with the purpose of exalting the 'Nordic' or Teutonic race, to whom nearly all human achievements are attributed. The book is anti-Semitic, asserts that Christ was no Jew, and though maintaining higher intellectual standards than subsequent National-Socialism, it has foreshadowed the latter to a great extent.

CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Neville, British Prime Minister, born in Birmingham 1869; son of Joseph Chamberlain, the prominent Conservative statesman, by his second wife; was educated at Rugby and Mason College, Birmingham; was active in the screw industry afterwards, entered the Birmingham Council in 1911 and became Lord Mayor of Birmingham in 1915. It was here that he acquired the profound knowledge of the housing question which he successfully applied later on. In 1916 Lloyd George appointed him Director of National Service, but owing to opposition to his scheme Chamberlain resigned in 1917. He became Conservative M.P. for the Ladywood Division of Birmingham in 1918, Postmaster-General in 1922 and Minister of Health in 1923. In this capacity he rendered outstanding service. The Housing Acts of 1923 (> Housing policy) are associated with his name, and slum-clearance has been his particular work. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1923-24, but returned to the Ministry of Health to continue his re-housing work. In 1931 he was again appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Besides housing, he devoted himself to other social improvements, such as the Rating and Valuation Act of 1926, and extension of the

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Pensions Act to widows and orphans. Since 1929 he has represented the Edgbaston division of Birmingham. On May 28, 1937, after Baldwin's resignation, Chamberlain became Prime Minister, and on August 31, 1937, he was unanimously elected leader of the Conservative Party.

As Prime Minister, Chamberlain made his own foreign policy known as "appeasement", based on the idea of appeasing the German and Italian dictators through concessions to such an extent that they would be prepared to join in an international peace and disarmament pact. Chamberlain made great sacrifices for this policy (he described himself as "a go-getter for peace"), liquidated the sanctions policy against Italy, dismissed Foreign Secretary Eden, maintained British neutrality in the Spanish civil war, acquiesced in Germany's annexation of Austria, withheld aid for Czechoslovakia and negotiated the Munich agreement after flying three times to Hitler. While unwilling to go to war for the purpose of preventing the union of German-speaking territories in Central Europe with Germany, he declared even during the September crisis that Britain would resist any attempt to dominate the world by force. Peace moves were continued after Munich, but when Germany broke the Munich agreement through the occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Chamberlain adopted the policy of resistance to aggression which had been previously advocated by his critics, particularly Eden, Churchill and Duff Cooper. British guarantees were extended to Poland, Rumania, Greece and Turkey, and an attempt was made to secure an alliance with Russia. British rearmament, which Chamberlain had always regarded as a corollary to his policy of peace, was greatly increased in size and speed, and when Poland was attacked by Hitler on September 1, 1939, Britain came immediately to her aid. Chamberlain had made desperate efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement, but when Hitler nevertheless attacked, the Prime Minister turned in the sharpest terms against the German dictator, whom he described as solely responsible for the war. He declared that the primary object of Britain was the overthrow of Nazism. In his momentous speech in Parliament on September 1, 1939, he said: "We have no quarrel with the German people except that they allow themselves to be governed by a Nazi Government. As long as that Government exists and pursues the methods the sickening technique of which we are now so familiar with, there will be no peace in Europe. We are resolved that these methods must come to an end."

CHAUTEMPS, Camille, French politician, born 1885 in Paris. Originally an advocate, Radical-Socialist deputy since 1904, senator from 1933, Minister of the Interior in Herriot's Cabinet in 1924, subsequently Minister of the Interior, Justice and Public Instruction in various Governments (and Premier for 24 hours in 1930) until November 1933; then Prime Minister until January 27, 1934, when he was overthrown owing to the Stavisky affair. He was Minister of Public Works under Sarraut and Minister of State under Blum in 1936. Premier again June 1937—March 1938, Vice-Premier under Reynaud in

March 1938. Chautemps belongs to the middle group in the Radical Party.

CHAUVINISM, exaggerated nationalism or, more broadly, exaggerated devotion to any cause. The word springs from N. Chauvin, an over-zealous adherent of Napoleon I.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, Chinese Marshal and national leader, born 1888 at Fenghua, Chekiang, took an active part in the Chinese revolutions of 1911, 1912 and 1917, joined the > Sun Yat-Sen 1917-1922, went to Moscow Military Academy in 1923, became Chief of the Chinese Military Academy at Whampoo near Canton in 1924, organised a model troop out of the cadets there, and defeated insurgent South Chinese Generals in 1925 with their help. On the death of Sun Yat-Sen he succeeded him in the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang, co-operated with Communists, became Generalissimo, seized Shanghai in 1926. In March 1927 he broke with the Communists, massacred them at Shanghai, set up a Government of his own at Nanking to oppose the old pro-Communist Kuo Min Tang Government. Both Governments eventually united, with Chiang Kai-Shek as Generalissimo, and he set out to conquer North China. In 1928 he defeated Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, and all China was placed under the authority of the Nanking Government. Chiang Kai-Shek became President of the Executive Yuan (Prime Minister) and virtually dictator. Yet civil strife went on, Communists and a left-wing Government at Canton opposing the Marshal. In 1931 he resigned but was recalled in 1932, fought the Communist armies, sought to compromise with the Japanese who had occupied Manchuria and attacked Shanghai. In 1936 he was captured by a rival General, Chang Hsueh-Liang, but released after a compromise. When the Japanese started war on China in July 1937, Chiang Kai-Shek resigned office as Prime Minister to devote himself fully to his duties as Generalissimo. He has been the heart and soul of the Chinese resistance to the Japanese invaders. He retired to Chungking after the fall of Nanking in December 1937, and seems determined to fight on. Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek is also active in the nationalist movement. One of her sisters is the widow of Sun Yat-Sen, while another is married to Dr. Kung, Premier of the National Government at Chungking.

CHINA, Republic of, official name Chung Hua Min Kuo (People's State of the Blooming Land of the Mid), area of China proper (18 provinces) 1,533,000 sq. m., including disputed outlying territories (Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, Manchuria) 4,278,000 sq. m.; population, China proper, 400,000,000, including disputed areas 458,000,000. Since the revolution of 1911, which resulted in the deposition of the Imperial Manchu dynasty and the proclamation of a republic, China has been in a state of permanent disorder. The conservative first president of the republic, Marshal Yuan Shi-Kai, was opposed by the democratic leader of South China, > Sun Yat-Sen. In 1915 Yuan Shi-Kai proclaimed himself Emperor but died soon after. Sun Yat-Sen organised a republican Government at Nanking, capital of the South, by character more progressive

than the North and the traditional centre of the Chinese revolution. Years of internal struggle followed; not only did South fight against North, but various Marshals and Generals set up Governments of their own in the provinces and waged war on each other. In 1923 the > Kuo Min Tang, Sun Yat-Sen's nationalist revolutionary party, was reorganised with the aid of the Soviet Russian adviser Borodin; Soviet Russia took a great interest in the Chinese revolution which the Communists of that time regarded as the clue to the overthrow of international imperialism. In 1924 General > Chiang Kai-Shek emerged as leader, defeated rival Generals in South China, became Generalissimo in 1926, marched to the North in 1928, defeated the northern military dictator, Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, and united all China under his Government. In 1927 he had broken with the Communists and carried out a massacre among them at Shanghai; the Communists set up a Soviet Government in two southern provinces, carrying out radical reforms, primarily a land reform. Chiang Kai-Shek conducted seven campaigns against the sovietised provinces until he succeeded in 1934 in occupying them. The Communist army, however, escaped to the west and established new Soviet areas in the province of Szechuan.

Amidst continuous minor uprisings and civil warfare the Kuo Min Tang, now under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, called a Congress at Nanking which adopted an Organic Law on October 4, 1928. It provided for a "period of tutelage" of the Chinese people during which the Kuo Min Tang was to function as the governing body. Later on a democratic system was to be introduced. Two amendments to the Organic Law were passed in 1931 and 1932, and a draft Constitution was published in May 1936 without coming into effect. The National Congress of the Kuo Min Tang is the supreme national authority. It elects a Central Executive Committee which chooses the National Government. The Government is divided into five Yuan or Branches, to wit, the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination and Control Yuans. The Executive Yuan is the Government proper, and its head occupies a position similar to that of Prime Minister in other States. Besides, there is a State Council, the highest body of the Government, and its chairman is President of the National Government (at present Lin Sen, elected 1932). President of the Executive Yuan is Dr. Kung, banker and brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-Shek.

When internal struggle began to ebb, aggression from outside intervened. Japan seized Manchuria in 1931 and set up the puppet State of > Manchukuo there. Fierce Sino-Japanese fighting occurred at Shanghai in 1932. Chiang Kai-Shek tried to compromise with the Japanese so as to win time and to unify the country before the inevitable clash with Japan, which was only aiming at complete domination of China. Yet the Japanese did not wait longer than 1937. They used a local clash between Chinese and Japanese soldiers, which occurred on July 7, 1937, at Marco Polo Bridge near Pekin, as a pretext for starting a large-scale war on China.

CHINA AND THE FAR EAST



ASPIRATIONS AND
INTERESTS OF
THE POWERS

FRONT LINE IN CHINA, OCT. 1939
JAPANESE OCCUPIED TERRITORY IN CHINA
CHINESE GUERRILLAS

CHURCHILL]

They succeeded in conquering large parts of China and set up a puppet Government at Nanking under Wang Ching-Wei. For the front line in February 1940 see map opposite. The number of casualties has so far reached 600,000 on the Japanese, and 1,700,000 on the Chinese side. In December 1937 they occupied Nanking, the capital, but the Chinese Government moved to Chungking in South-West China. The resistance put up by the Chinese by far exceeded Japanese anticipations. Chiang Kai-Shek seems determined to resist, and the removal of his Government to Chungking has favourably influenced the development of the South-Western provinces, considerable resources, hitherto neglected, being opened up there. A road has been constructed from Burma to Chungking to convey supplies to the Chinese National Government, as the Japanese have practically cut it off from the sea. The Chinese Communists have reconciled themselves with Chiang Kai-Shek and placed their army under his command. The Chinese Generalissimo relies on a war of attrition and exhaustion. He has the support of Russia, Britain and the U.S.A. while Japan's action is viewed with antipathy throughout the world.

Russia continues to be concerned about China, traditional power politics in Asia and the desire to secure the Siberian frontier now supplementing the interest in the Chinese revolution. Britain and the U.S. are unwilling to permit Japan to monopolise the enormous market and the mineral resources of the country. And they want to maintain their own concessions and commercial bases there. British investments in China are estimated at £450,000,000, American investments at \$400,000,000. China is the last large undeveloped area in the world which has not yet been distributed among the Powers, and therefore likely to remain a bone of contention.

China continues to claim sovereignty over the territories of > Manchukuo (now Japanese-controlled), > Mongolia (Outer Mongolia under Soviet, Inner Mongolia under Japanese control), > Sinkiang (Soviet-controlled) and > Tibet (in fact independent), but these areas seem to have slipped out of Chinese control for an indefinite time.

CHURCHILL, Rt. Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer, British statesman, born November 30, 1874, son of Lord Randolph Churchill and an American mother. Educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, entered the army in 1895, served in two colonial campaigns (Malakand 1897, Tirah 1899), was war correspondent of *The Morning Post* in the South African War, taken prisoner by the Boers, escaped. Elected Conservative M.P. for Oldham in 1900. Opposed Joseph Chamberlain's high-tariff plans, stood for free trade, joined Liberals, became Under-Secretary for Colonies in 1905, furthered federation policy in South Africa. Was appointed President of the Board of Trade in 1908, effected important social legislation (Trade Boards Acts). Called to the Home Office, he supported the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1912; was then appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, carried out many reforms. His preparations for the creation of a naval war staff were cut short by the

outbreak of the Great War 1914-1918, which had been predicted by Churchill. In the war Churchill developed the strategic thesis of the "Eastern Front", including the Dardanelles expedition, but was not given sufficient forces for its successful realisation. In 1915 he resigned from the Cabinet, went to active service in France, was Colonel of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers. Recalled by Lloyd George in 1917, he became Minister of Munitions, rendered outstanding service, was War Secretary and Air Minister 1918-1921, Colonial Secretary 1921-1923, supported Irish settlement of 1922. At that time he became prominent as an Anti-Bolshevik. His views aroused Liberal dislike, and in 1922 he was rejected by his Dundee constituency. He retired for some time and wrote his great work on pre-war and war policies, *The World Crisis*, in six volumes. In 1924 he returned to political activities, joined the Conservatives, was elected M.P. for Epping in September 1924, which seat he has held since. Under Baldwin he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The return to the gold standard in 1925 fell under his chancellorship.

From 1930 to the outbreak of the present war Churchill held no office, but took an increasing interest in the conduct of foreign affairs. His speeches and articles on this subject focused public attention in a growing degree, the more so as Churchill once more confirmed his reputation for foresight. Up to 1933 he argued against urging France to disarm, but favoured redress of the grievances of Germany. On the advent to power of Nazism in Germany in 1933 Churchill foresaw all the dangers flowing from it and urged early British rearmament, especially in the air. Advocated neutrality in the Spanish civil war, backed non-intervention as war-preventing despite its being "full of swindles and cheats". German Nazism aroused Churchill's opposition more and more, partly because it opposed his deeply-rooted liberalism and partly because of the growing Nazi menace to Britain. Churchill predicted German expansion in Central Europe, exposed Hitler's intention of world domination, attacked the appeasement policy, urged early anti-aggression policy, lined up with Eden and Duff Cooper, rejected Munich agreement, September 1938, in sharp terms, saw Chamberlain in 1939 taking up the policies he had recommended. At the outbreak of the present war Churchill was called to the War Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty.

A brilliant orator and one of the best political writers in the language, Churchill is one of the most popular figures in British politics. He has written a number of books on military subjects, the six volumes on *The World Crisis* already mentioned, *The Aftermath*, *Thought and Adventures*, *Great Contemporaries*, biographical works on Marlborough and Lord Randolph Churchill. CIANO, Count Galeazzo, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, born 1903, son of a naval officer and former minister, served as a diplomat in South America and China, while his father became president of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. Count Ciano married Mussolini's daughter Edda in 1934 and his career has been a rapid one since. He became Minister of

Propaganda in the same year. In the Abyssinian war he served as a pilot, commanding the "Desperata" air squadron. On his return from the war he was appointed Foreign Minister in 1936. He repeatedly exchanged visits with German statesmen, signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1937 and the Ital-German alliance in 1939.

Although previously regarded as representative of the > Axis policy, since the outbreak of war he has steadily followed Mussolini's lead in maintaining Italian neutrality. Considerable political influence has also been attributed to his wife.

CIO, initials of the > Committee for Industrial Organisation which stands for a new current in the American labour movement.

CLERICALISM, the Catholic political movement.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY, a term first current in Geneva in a whole series of discussions and reports on the problem of disarmament from 1924 onwards. The idea is that all countries should together guarantee the security of each individual country. The principle was already embodied in the > League of Nations Covenant. In 1935 a special Committee on Collective Security was set up, and the > sanctions which the League applied in the > Abyssinian conflict that year gave a wider publicity to the term. After the failure of the League action, an abortive attempt was made to build up a new system of collective security through multilateral alliances directed in the first instance against Nazi Germany.

COLLECTIVISM, a term covering all economic and political systems based on co-operation and central planning, including not only > Socialism proper but also looser systems such as co-operativism, corporatism, State control and co-ordination of economic life.

COMINTERN, contraction for the Communist International. (> Communism).

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION (shortly referred to as CIO). American labour movement, arose as an offshoot of the > American Federation of Labour, advocating broad "industrial" unions comprising all the workers, skilled as well as unskilled, in an industry, as against the "craft unions" of the > American Federation of Labour which are limited to skilled workers only. A number of American trade unions have for the last few years been of opinion that the organising principles of the AFoL are out of date. According to their argument, craft unions can be used only in industries where craft division is clear and skill predominates. The new mass-production industries, such as the automobile, radio, tyre and aluminium industries, have brought to the fore another type of worker—non-craftsmen, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. These workers were aroused to the need of organisation by the > "New Deal" laws, and the methods of the AFoL proved insufficient to build up efficient unions among them. After vain demands for a fundamental modification of the structure of the AFoL, eight large unions affiliated with the AFoL formed the CIO on November 9, 1935, under the

leadership of John L. > Lewis. These unions included mine, textile, clothing, oil, smelter, typographic and millinery workers, later joined by steel, glass, automobile, radio, rubber and marine workers. The CIO started a vigorous campaign to win the unorganised. The AFoL raised charges of "dualism and rebellion" against the CIO unions, and at the AFoL convention in July 1936 the CIO unions were expelled. A rapid rise of the CIO movement followed. It concentrated on organising workers in the mass-production and other "unorganised" industries which had been neglected by the "craft unions" of the AFoL. Amidst frequent sharp conflicts with the AFoL, the CIO reached a membership of 4,000,000 in 1938 as against 3,300,000 in the AFoL. As an instance, the CIO took over three weak AFoL unions in the automobile, steel and rubber industries. Within twelve months membership increased in the automobile union from 30,000 to 375,000, in the steel union from 10,000 to 500,000 and in the rubber union from 25,000 to 75,000. The CIO led a number of great strikes, introduced the > "sit-down strike" method in America. Its successes include two agreements in the automobile industry and the first written agreement with the United States Steel Corporation. The CIO succeeded in raising the proportion of the organised in American labour from 15 to 35 per cent. approximately, and to-day it musters 32 national and international unions (the latter including Canada) with 600 directly associated local unions. In its organisation the CIO is a loose federation of American and Canadian unions like the AFoL, but central leadership is more outspoken. The CIO appears also to have had the unofficial support of the Roosevelt Administration. In July 1939 a few unions (automobile, clothing, miners) left the CIO over internal dissensions.

COMMUNISM, a revolutionary movement aiming at the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship instead. The international socialist movement had always been divided into a moderate and a radical wing. Communism arose out of the latter in opposition to the former. (> Socialism.) In 1903 the Russian Socialist Party split into a radical faction, the > Bolsheviks, and a moderate faction, the > Mensheviks. In November 1917 the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia under the leadership of > Lenin, and maintained it subsequently in a long civil war against all other parties, including the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks nationalised industry in Russia, shared out the land to the peasants and ended the war with Germany and Austria. (Support given by the moderate Socialists to their Governments in the prosecution of the World War had been the immediate cause for the definite breach between the radicals and the moderates.) Lenin suggested calling the Bolshevik Party "Communist" so as to distinguish it from the moderate Socialists. The name refers to Marx' "League of Communists" of 1848 and to the "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels (> Marxism). Similar parties broke away from Labour parties in other countries and the Communist or Third International was set up in Moscow in 1920. (> Internationals.)

COMMUNISM]

The Communist creed was based on strict Marxism brought up to date by Lenin. Communist philosophy is materialistic and worships violence. It strives to realise a noble ideal, a just society of equal men with common property, by the use of force. The Communist theory opposes moderate, democratic socialism, describes it as treacherous and as an agency of capitalism, denounces democracy as the concealed dictatorship of capitalists; rejects the idea of arriving at socialism through peaceful, democratic development, and maintains that it can be achieved only by armed revolution, followed inevitably by periods of civil war and proletarian dictatorship. The Russian revolution and the Soviet Union are the Communist models for world revolution.

The first period of Communism was characterised by the seizure of power in Russia under Lenin's leadership, four years of civil war and foreign intervention, and attempts to spread the revolution over other countries. This period came to an end in 1923, the result being that Russia remained the only Communist country. Inside Russia radical "war communism" proved unworkable and was relieved by the > NEP policy. Under these conditions Lenin died in January 1924.

The second period (1924-1927) was marked by a dispute in the party between those who, like > Stalin, advocated developing Russia as an isolated Socialist country, and those who, like > Trotsky, staked their all on a continuation of the policy of world revolution. Out of this dispute emerged Stalin as leader of Communism, while Trotsky was exiled. The Communist parties in other countries suffered likewise from internal disputes during this period.

The third period (1927-1935) was overshadowed by the development of Soviet Russia on the principle of "socialism in one country": The > Five-Year Plan resulted in the transformation of Russia from an undeveloped agricultural country into a large industrial Power. While Russia concentrated her efforts on economic development the question of world revolution had to wait. Communist parties abroad, continued to proclaim revolution in theory, but contented themselves in practice largely with electoral campaigns. They continued to fight moderate Socialists whom they described as "social-fascists" and "enemy No. 1". The Communist International had become entirely subordinate to Moscow and no national party was allowed to make a policy of its own. Within the Russian Communist Party Stalin, whose reputation was enhanced by the success of the first Five Year Plan, exercised dictatorial power. When Nazism seized power in Germany in 1933, the German Communist Party was suppressed.

The fourth period (1935-1938) was that of the > Popular Front policy. Faced with the growing consolidation of Nazism, the Communist International decided at its 1935 Congress to collaborate with Socialists and other democratic parties in a Popular Front against Nazi and Fascist tendencies. Communist parties outside Russia testified to democracy and turned patriotic. The first Popular Front Government with a programme of relatively limited reforms was set up in France

in 1936 and the second soon after in Spain. In Russia a nominally democratic, parliamentary constitution was adopted in place of the Soviet system. Observers have suggested that all these changes were linked up with the Soviet Government's endeavour to secure an alliance with France against Nazi Germany at that time. Inside Russia opposition to Stalin's policy was crushed in a party purge (> Moscow trials). With the defeat of the Popular Front Government in Spain and its economic failure in France the Popular Front movement lost its momentum, and in 1938 the Popular Front in France ceased to exist.

A fifth period in the history of Communism began with the present war. Soviet Russia's co-operation with Nazi Germany in the first stage of the war created an obscure situation. It was accompanied by a return to the old radical slogans of the third period and by opposition to the war. The French Communist Party was suppressed. The only legal Communist party of significance left outside Russia is the Chinese Communist Party, which co-operates with > Chiang Kai-Shek in the war against Japan on the basis of a nationalist programme. The British Communist Party is very small and has only one M.P., Mr. O. D. Gallacher.

Notwithstanding the suppression of legal party organisations, the millions of ex-members and ex-electors of the Communist parties in Germany, France and elsewhere, continue to exist, sometimes with the nuclei of an illegal organisation, and it is hard to guess what effect recent Soviet policies have had upon their minds. There is a body of opinion which says that Communism is dead for all practical purposes and survives, if at all, only as an auxiliary means of Russian national policy. Others hold the view that Stalin has not given up world revolution and is going to bring it to the West at the points of Russian bayonets. There are also elements of a neo-Communist movement, generally associated with the name of > Trotsky, which calls itself the Fourth International and claims as its object the restoration of pure Communism along the lines laid down by Lenin, which Stalin, it says, has distorted and betrayed.

CONCENTRATION CAMP, an institution of Nazi Germany for the detention of opponents of the Nazi régime. It was estimated that at least 40,000 people were in concentration camps at the outbreak of the present war and more than 200,000 had passed through them before. Prisoners in the camps include socialists, communists, democrats, Catholics, opposition Protestants, Jews, besides Monarchists and such Nazis as have not conformed to the party line. Non-political Germans, too, are held in concentration camps for the disregard of various regulations. Detention in the camps (called "protective custody") is completely arbitrary. No trial is given to the prisoners and there is no legal time-limit to their detention. Many of them have been held in the camps for no years without trial or judgment. The prisoners manhandled, forced to hard work which they cannot expose to indescribable tortures and humiliations.

CONCENTRATION]

guards. Thousands have been killed in the camps, mostly slowly tortured to death. The concentration camps are one of the darkest blots on the Nazi régime but one of its most successful means of intimidating the German populace. Especially notorious, camps are those of Oranienburg, Papenburg, Dachau and Buchenwald. The British Government published a White Paper on German concentration camps in October 1939.

CONCENTRATION, Theory of, the Marxian theory that the larger and stronger capitalists gradually oust or absorb the smaller and weaker ones, until all the capital is concentrated in the hands of a few powerful combines, trusts or banks.

CONCLAVE, a secluded assembly of the Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church for the election of the new Pope. Conclaves are always held in Rome. They must be convoked within three weeks after the death of a Pope. All Cardinals of the world are summoned to Rome to take part in the Conclave. Once the Conclave has begun the Cardinals are cut off from any communication with the outside world. Each Cardinal may bring with him into the Conclave a secretary and an attendant. There are, as a rule, about 300 persons in the Conclave. The Conclave must not terminate before it has elected a Pope. Frequently Conclaves have lasted for several weeks. The last, however, held on March 1, 1939, sat only one day, as the Cardinals were quick to take their decision (the election of Pope Pius XII).

The Conclave can act if at least one-half of the Cardinals are present. The Cardinals are pledged to lifelong secrecy as to the proceedings of the Conclave. The Pope must be elected with a two-thirds' majority. If the ballot does not yield such a majority the voting-papers are wrapped in wet straw and burnt. This produces black smoke which escapes through the chimney and indicates to the crowd waiting outside that no Pope has yet been elected. Ballots are repeated until the prescribed majority is obtained. Then the voting papers are burnt without straw so as to produce white smoke. This is the traditional sign for the election of a Pope. The eldest Cardinal-Deacon steps out on the balcony and tells the people: "Habemus papam" (We have a Pope).

CONCORDAT (from Latin *pactum concordatum*, agreed pact), an agreement between the Pope and a Government, specifying the mutual rights and duties, the status of the Catholic clergy and religious orders, State subsidies for the Church, protection of Church property, State influence on the appointment of bishops, &c. A concordat is tantamount to an international convention. Where a concordat cannot be reached, it is sometimes replaced by a *modus vivendi* an informal agreement with similar purposes.

CONDOMINIUM, common rule of two or more nations in a territory. Examples of a condominium are the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Phoenix Islands (Anglo-American), and the New Hebrides (Anglo-French).

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, persons who on religious or moral grounds refuse military service, or at least service as combatants. When considerable numbers of conscientious objectors showed up in Britain under the Military Service Act,

1916, special tribunals dealt with them, and many were sent into non-combatant units or used for other work, while others were imprisoned. Conscientious objectors of the strictest observance were "absolutists" who refused all work "helping the war". The United States Conscription Act of 1917 freed conscientious objectors from military service, if they belonged to a recognised religious group or sect forbidding it. "Sincere" objectors were sent to other work, "insincere" ones and "absolutists" were court-martialled and imprisoned. The last prisoners of this kind were released in 1920. There were only 4,000 conscientious objectors in the U.S.A., and more than one-half accepted alternative service. Under the British Military Training Act, 1939, conscientious objectors may apply to special tribunals which will decide on each case, and applicants may be employed on non-combatant duties.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY, also known as the Unionist Party, obtained 10,496,000 out of 22,000,000 votes at the 1935 election and 375 out of 615 seats in the House of Commons. Traditionally the right-wing party in the British Parliament, successor to the Tory party of the 18th and 19th centuries, but very different from conservative parties in various continental countries. Such parties are often reactionary, indifferent or even hostile to democracy and opposed to social progress. The Conservative Party, however, is moderately progressive and no less democratic than, say, the Liberal Party. Its outlook on life and political institutions is at bottom liberal, and Conservative politicians have frequently been pioneers of social reform (Churchill's factory acts, Chamberlain's housing policy). Yet socialism is strictly opposed and the freedom of individual enterprise stressed. National and Imperial feeling is outspoken; a moderate tariff and Imperial Preference are items of the economic programme. There are connections with the aristocracy and large business interests. The Conservative Party has been virtually the governing party since 1924. A small extreme right wing known as the "Diehards" has little influence, while the left wing of the party has produced outstanding politicians of the Conservative-Liberal type, such as Churchill and Eden. Leader of the Conservative Party is Neville Chamberlain, other leading figures are Earl Baldwin, Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Halifax, Winston S. Churchill, Lord Salisbury, Lord Londonderry, Anthony Eden.

CONTRABAND (from Latin *contra bannum*, against the ban), goods the delivery of which to a belligerent may be prevented by another belligerent. The Declaration of London, agreed upon by the International Naval Conference in London 1909, distinguished between absolute contraband (arms and ammunition) and conditional contraband (goods normally destined for peaceful purposes but also useful in war). A list of conditional contraband, including certain raw materials, was compiled, but did not come into effect as the Declaration was not ratified. In the Great War of 1914-1918 the contraband list was extended to practically every article of importance, including foodstuffs, and the same principles are applied by

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY]

the Allies in the present war. The Allied contraband list is practically identical with the U.S. contraband list in the last war. By international law, contraband may be seized even in neutral ships, and these are subject to the right of search. It may also be seized if apparently consigned to neutral ports, provided there is reason to assume that the ultimate destination is an enemy country (on the principle of "continuous voyage"). The vessel itself may be seized if contraband constitutes one half of the cargo, or in case of fraudulent bills or other fraudulent acts. What is usually described as > blockade in the present war is strictly speaking, the application of the law of contraband.

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY, a party organised by the British co-operative movement in 1918 with a view to obtaining direct co-operative representation in Parliament and on local authorities. Co-operative societies with a membership of 2,400,000, about one-half of the whole co-operative movement, adhere to the party. In 1927 the party concluded an agreement with the > Labour Party concerning parliamentary representation within the ranks of Labour Members, and local Co-operative Parties became eligible for affiliation to Divisional Labour Parties. As a result a number of Labour seats in Parliament are permanently reserved for co-operative representatives.

CORPORATE STATE, a State system making professional and trade corporations the basis of the commonwealth. A corporate parliament is elected not by territorial constituencies but by the corporations, to each of which a number of seats is allotted. The corporations are compulsory.

The adherents of this system claim that it is a modern revival of the medieval Estates of the Realm, which shuts out politics and leads people to conduct public affairs along matter-of-fact lines. They say that professional association is more natural and stable than political grouping. Yet it cannot be seen how political divergences of opinion could be prevented from creeping into a corporate parliament, too, provided there is freedom of speech and election. A practical test has not been made so far, as the corporate systems which have been set up hitherto have all been working under a dictatorship, and are little short of a pliant mask for autocracy. The Italian Fascist system (> Fascism) is the most developed specimen of this kind. Corporatism was advocated by romantic writers in the 19th century who referred to allegedly ideal conditions in the Middle Ages when everything was corporate. It was then taken up by right-wing currents such as > Fascism, the > *Action Française* and Professor Spann's *Ständestaat* teaching in Austria, and by left-wing movements such as > syndicalism and > guild socialism.

CORRIDOR, Polish, a stretch of land connecting Poland with the Baltic Sea, narrowing towards the coast (smallest width 10 miles), broader at its base (about 60 miles). The corridor, called the Province of Pomorze (the seaside) in official Polish usage, was given to Poland in 1919 as an outlet to the sea. It passes across former German territory, cutting East Prussia off from the rest of Germany. The German claim was that

an arrangement which cut the Reich in two was intolerable, and that the Corridor was not inhabited by Poles but pre-
vailingy by Germans in 1918. The Poles stated that the Corridor territory belonged to Poland for many centuries till the first partition of Poland, and pointed to the importance of an outlet to the sea for them, 80 per cent. of Polish foreign trade being sea-borne. In August 1939 the Corridor had a 90 per cent Polish population. The Poles had settled Polish colonists in the northern strip which had a predominantly German population in 1918, and built the fine, purely Polish port of Gdynia there. The southern part of the Corridor has always had a Polish majority, even under German rule. Propaganda for the return of the Corridor never rested in post-war Germany until 1933. Then Hitler pretended to drop the problem and in 1934 concluded a ten-year pact of non-aggression with the Poles. He reiterated his renunciation of the Corridor in emphatic terms as late as September 1938 and January 31, 1939. In March 1939 however he put forward the claim for the return of Danzig and the construction of an extra-territorial road across the Corridor. In August 1939 he extended his demand to the return of the whole Corridor. In spite of British efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement, Hitler attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, and the British and French declarations of war on Germany followed on September 3 on the strength of guarantees given to Poland. The Corridor was occupied by the Germans who began to re-settle it with a German population largely transferred from the Baltic States. Gdynia was re-named Gotenhafen. See map of Poland.

COUGHLIN, Father Charles Edward, American Catholic politician, born 1871 at Hamilton, Canada, ordained priest in 1916, pastor at Detroit, Mich., since 1926. Became known for his anti-communist broadcasts since 1930, has conducted a vehement anti-Jewish campaign in the U.S.A. in recent years, notwithstanding rejection by the late Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago. He was for a while associated with the anti-Semitic "Christian Front". Then he organised a movement known as the National Union for Social Justice.

COUP D'ÉTAT, (French), a sudden change of Government by force, effected by holders of governmental or military power. It differs from a revolution by being made "from above", while a revolution is made "from below". A revolution is characterised by the participation of large masses of the people, while a *coup d'état* is carried out by the State apparatus or parts of it, generally the army. Examples of *coups d'état* are those of Napoleon I in 1799, of Napoleon III in 1851, of Mussolini in 1925 (assumption of dictatorship), and of Pilsudski (Poland) in 1928. Cromwell is the only instance in British history. *Coups d'état* have also often been abortive, such as the Kapp Putsch in Germany 1920. The *coup d'état* is a frequent occurrence in Latin America where it belongs, under the name of *pronunciamiento*, to the traditional instruments of politics. The technique of the *coup d'état* has changed in recent times; while formerly its foremost objective was the occupation of

CRIPPS]

Government buildings, it seems that assumption of control over railways, stations, radio transmitters, power plants, water-works and other technical centres of modern life plays a greater part to-day.

CRIPPS. The Hon. Sir Stafford, M.P., British Socialist politician, born 1889, youngest son of Lord Parmoor, was educated at Winchester and at University College, London, called to the Bar in 1913, practised as a lawyer, became King's Counsel in 1927. He entered Parliament in 1931 as Labour Member for East Bristol which seat he has held since, and was Solicitor-General in the MacDonald Government. Standing on the left wing of the Labour Party, he advocated a United Front with the Communists, which was rejected by the Party conference in autumn 1937. Sir Stafford had to give up his campaign for the United Front, but was called to the executive of the Party. In 1937 Sir Stafford started a new campaign in favour of a Popular Front which was to unite Labour, Liberals, Communists and dissident Conservatives, but this plan was again opposed by the Party and led to the expulsion of Sir Stafford and some of his followers at the Southport Party conference in April, 1939. The Popular Front campaign was wound up, and Sir Stafford and his followers asked for re-admission to the Party.

CROATS, a South Slav people inhabiting the north-western part of Yugoslavia. There are 4,000,000 Croats, speaking the same language as the Serbs but using the Roman alphabet while the Serbs write in the Cyrillic. The Croats are Catholics, the Serbians Orthodox. Croatia was for many centuries under Austrian and Hungarian rule, enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy. As a result of long Austrian administration the Croats are far more advanced than the Serbs as regards cultural and economical achievements, and when Croatia—with great initial enthusiasm—was united with Serbia and other South Slav regions in 1918 to form the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Serbian attempts to merge the different groups into one nation soon aroused dislike. Croatia was occupied by Serbian troops, gendarmerie and civil servants, and a so-called Greater-Serbian policy was inaugurated. The Croats organised under the leadership of Raditch and demanded autonomy within the framework of Yugoslavia. Raditch was shot in the midst of the Yugoslav Parliament in 1928. Ten years of still more intense centralism followed, the Province of Croatia disappeared as an administrative unit and was partly divided, partly united with other Yugoslav districts. Dr. Matchek, successor to Raditch as leader of the Croat Peasant Party, continued to work for Croatian self-government. During the great international tension before the outbreak of the present war, the Yugoslav Government gave way and the Province of Croatia (with Zagreb as capital) was restored at the end of August 1939, being granted a considerable degree of autonomy. Dr. Matchek became Yugoslav vice-premier. Yugoslavia hopes that this will strengthen Croatian loyalty towards the common State and help to check German plans to use Croatian discontent for a Nazi push towards the Adriatic Sea. See map of the Danube Basin I.

CUSTOMS UNION, an act whereby two or more States, while retaining their independence and sovereignty, are united into a common tariff area, lifting the tariff frontier between themselves and establishing a common tariff frontier with other countries, e.g., Belgium and Luxembourg.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, a republic formed in 1918 (> Masaryk) out of the former Austrian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and the ex-Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia. The area was 52,000 sq. m., the population 15,000,000 (1938). The régime of the country was democratic, but there were grievances of racial minorities. The Czechs, the ruling nation, numbered about 7,000,000, the > Slovaks somewhat below 3,000,000; the Czechs maintained that they were forming one Czechoslovak nation, which view was opposed by a considerable section of the Slovaks who insisted on the status of a separate nation and claimed a federation. The Bohemian and Moravian border districts (the Sudetenland) were inhabited by 3,250,000 Germans who claimed more rights. Besides, there was a Hungarian minority of 700,000 in Slovakia, and 550,000 Ruthenians or Ukrainians lived in Sub-Carpathian Russia. While the Czech laws guaranteed to all minorities legal and political equality, there was, in fact, a certain amount of discrimination against non-Czechs and non-Slovaks, and attempts were made to settle minority areas with Czechs. The co-operation of German parties in the Government after 1926 altered little in this respect, and while there was no question of "oppression" of the Germans, the policy of pin-pricks, gradual penetration and disregard of German economic interests continued. With the advent to power of Hitler in Germany, the Sudeten-German nationalist movement gathered momentum, and its leader, > Henlein, put forward first the demand for autonomy within Czechoslovakia, and when this was, after initial reluctance, granted by the Czechs under the influence of the British mediator, Lord Runciman, Henlein and his chief, Hitler, suddenly launched the demand for cession of the Sudetenland to Germany at the beginning of September 1938. Heavy fighting occurred in the Sudetenland and along its borders, but Great Britain, France and Russia, on whose help Czechoslovakia had relied, abandoned her, and through the > Munich agreement she was forced to cede the Sudetenland. Immediately after Hitler's success, Hungary and Poland, too, put forward territorial demands, and Czechoslovakia had to cede to Poland the Olsa area, with the town of Teschen and large coal mines and steel works, and to Hungary a large strip of land in southern Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia. A rump state was left with open untenable frontiers. President > Beneš resigned and went abroad, a right-wing group of Agrarians seized power, and a federative system with three autonomous Governments, the Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian, was adopted. Germany pressed for pro-Nazi policies, and engineered a Slovak uprising with the goal of complete independence on March 10, 1939. Hitler used this as a pretext to declare that disorder in Czechoslovakia was threatening Germany, and the German troops

CZECHOSLOVAKIA]

invaded the country on March 15, 1939. No resistance was offered and President Hacha signed, yielding to German threats, a statement placing the country under Germany's "protection". The "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" was formed as part of the German Reich, including the Czech provinces, while Slovakia was made an "independent" State, likewise under German "protection" and occupation. The Czech army was disarmed and disbanded. All this was done though Hitler had solemnly declared during the September Crisis that he did not want any Czechs within the Reich, that he was anxious only to get the Sudeten-Germans, and that he would guarantee the new Czechoslovak frontier. This breach of faith aroused world-wide indignation and was the immediate cause of a decisive change in British policy. Prime Minister Chamberlain condemned Hitler's action in the sharpest words and described the rape of Czechoslovakia as an action "which Germany, in the end, will bitterly regret".

The Czechs have borne the Nazi yoke very unwillingly, and the new war sees them united in active resistance to the invader. Also Slovak sympathies for Germany have been converted into heavy opposition since the occupation of Slovakia and since the Slovaks have been forced to participate in the German war on Poland. Czechs and Slovaks abroad immediately sided with Britain, France and Poland against Nazi Germany at the outbreak of war in September 1939, and a Czech army was formed in France. The restoration of Czech and Slovak freedom is one of the declared objects of the present war. A Czechoslovakian National Committee under Dr. Beneš has been formed in London and recognised by the Allied governments as "qualified to represent the Czechoslovak peoples and to deal with the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak army in France." See map of the Danube Basin II.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, the combination of the dialectical method with a materialistic philosophy. Politically important because it is the philosophical basis of > Marxism and a sort of State religion in Soviet Russia. Dialectics as developed by Greek philosophers was the art of argument, the technique of persuasion. It became the name of a method of thinking by the resolution of successive contradictions (as in a philosophical "dialogue"). Later it was claimed that not only the development of thought, but also actual developments in nature and history take the course of a dialectical process in which, as in a philosophical discussion, "thesis" and "antithesis" follow each other until a solution is found in the form of "synthesis". This teaching was particularly developed by Hegel, German idealistic philosopher in the first half of the nineteenth century, who saw history as the reflection of a dialectical process in the development of certain ideas. Marx and Feuerbach "reversed" the dialectical principle, denying the dominant role of ideas in history claimed by Hegel, and declaring that material things, while actually developing as dialectical processes, do so in their own right, so to speak, and not just reflecting the development of independently existing ideas. On the contrary, it was the ideas which were the reflections of material reality. Marx used dialectical materialism as a method of social criticism and analysis, setting up the theory of "historical materialism". Thus every phase of human society, while moved by material forces, develops as a dialectical process, producing within itself its own opposite. Thus capitalist society creates the proletarian class which is of necessity opposed to it and bound eventually to overthrow it. (> Marxism.) Marx defined the dialectical method as that of "including in the positive understanding of existing things also the understanding of their negative implications of their necessary termination."

DÁIL ÉIREANN, the Lower House of the Irish Parliament. (> Ireland.)

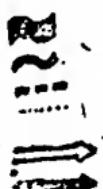
DALADIER, Édouard, French statesman, born 1884, the son of a baker. Became a school-teacher, served in the World War of 1914-1918 as a captain (*croix de guerre, légion d'honneur*), became a Radical-Socialist deputy in 1919, Minister of Colonies in 1924, of War in 1925, of Public Instruction in 1926; succeeded Herriot in the chairmanship of the Radical Party in 1927. Was Prime Minister for 10 months in 1933, again for a short time in 1934, served as Minister of War since 1936 in various > Popular Front Governments; was Prime Minister again April 1938-March 1940, remaining also in charge of the War Ministry. Endeavoured to restore financial and economic order in France, used conservative methods. Signed the > Munich Agreement in September 1938. Daladier stands on the left wing of his party. Was regarded as France's "strong man", ruled by decrees, and arranged for a two-year postponement of French elections in July 1939. His

later majorities were no longer Popular Front (communist-socialist-radical), but extended considerably to the Right. When the Chamber became critical of his personal rule and demanded a more vigorous prosecution of the war, Daladier resigned on March 21, 1940. He retained the War Ministry in the Cabinet of Reynaud.

DANUBIAN BASIN, the region through which the Danube flows to the Black Sea, comprising the former Austria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania. Most of the Danube Basin was formerly organised within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but since the destruction of that Empire in 1918 the Danube Basin has been parcelled out into a number of small and medium States with many rivalries, frontier and minority problems. German attempts to solve them by force, initiated with the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and intended to be carried to the organisation of a German-controlled Danube Empire, created only new problems instead of the old ones. Oppressed Czechs, Slovaks and to some extent also Austrians have taken the place of the disaffected Sudeten-German and Hungarian minorities. For the rest, these attempts seem to have been cut short by the present war. German aspirations have been aroused by the vast economic resources of this region, including especially cereals, oil and timber. A generally satisfactory solution is rendered difficult by the existence of wide-scattered minorities and the fact that geographical, economic and ethnic frontiers inextricably cross each other. Federation, which might be useful, is rejected by part of the peoples of the region.

DANZIG, a Baltic port at the mouth of the Vistula. Population: district, 400,000; municipality 260,000, 97% German before the present war. The city of Danzig was a Slav foundation, conquered in 1310 by the Order of Teutonic Knights who massacred the Slav population and settled Germans there. Since that time Danzig has been a German town, but it constituted Poland's only outlet to the sea and Poland never gave up her claims to it. From 1450 to 1793 Danzig was a Free City under Polish suzerainty, an arrangement which pleased the Danzigers as well as the Poles. Prussia annexed Danzig in 1793, much against the will of the Danzigers, but Napoleon, welcomed in Danzig as liberator, restored it to Poland for the period 1807 to 1815. Then Danzig was given to Prussia again, and it took several decades before the Danzigers acquiesced in their fate. Eventually, they became patriotic Germans, and they protested emphatically when they were detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Poland had demanded the annexation of Danzig, but while the peacemakers at Versailles acknowledged her economic rights to the port, they considered also the German character of the population, and a compromise was found in making Danzig a Free City with its own Government, but placing it under Polish suzerainty as in former times. Danzig was demilitarised and included in the Polish customs territory; Poland was charged with Danzig's foreign relations and the management of the

THE DANUBE BASIN I: POLITICAL DIVISIONS



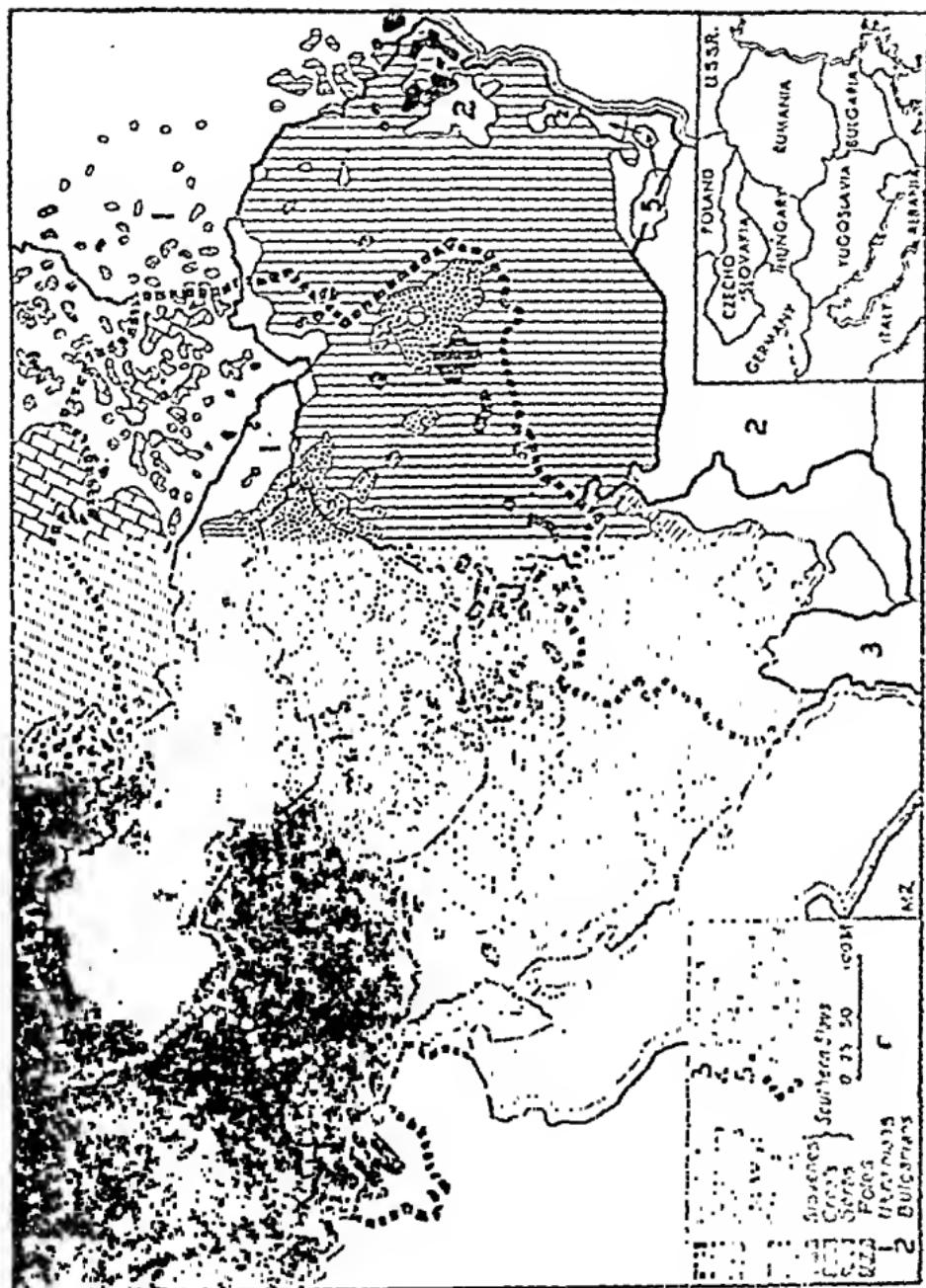
PRESENT GERMAN BORDER
POST MUNICH BORDER
STATE BORDERS (CZECHOSLOVAKIA: pre Munich)
BORDERS OF THE OLD AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY
ASPIRATIONS AND INTERESTS OF THE POWERS

railways, while the administration of the harbour was given over to a mixed Danzig-Polish board.

Danzig has always been a vital point in Polish history. Frederick II of Prussia said: "He who holds the mouth of the Vistula is mightier in Poland than the Polish King at Warsaw." To connect Poland with Danzig the Corridor was created, and a small strip of the Baltic coast outside Danzig was given to Poland. Here the Poles established the port of Gdynia. In March 1939 Hitler suddenly demanded the return of Danzig and later of the whole Corridor. The Polish Government declared its readiness to negotiate on a solution which would have preserved the rights of Poland but met also Germany's wishes in some way, and Great Britain, while giving a guarantee to Poland against aggression, strove to mediate. Hitler, however, preferred aggression. Disguised German troops occupied Danzig in August 1939, and on September 1, Nazi leader Forster proclaimed reunion of Danzig with Germany, which was at once confirmed by Hitler. Simultaneously Hitler invaded Poland, and the present war began. See map of Poland.

DARDANELLES. the southern part of the straits which connect the Mediterranean with the Black sea. During the Great War the Allies vainly attempted to seize them. With the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus, they belong to Turkey and are of great strategic and political importance. In the 18th and 19th centuries Russia pushed towards the straits so as to find an outlet to the Mediterranean. Turkish, British and French policy combined to prevent this, and the result was the Crimean War. The straits were under the absolute sovereignty of Turkey until 1841, then Turkish-controlled, but subject to neutralisation rules, until 1914. After the Great War of 1914-1918 they were occupied by the Allies, and the peninsula of Gallipoli, forming the European shore of the Dardanelles, was given to Greece. The straits were demilitarised, opened to navigation of every kind, and placed under an international commission. After the victory of Kemalist Turkey over the Greeks, Gallipoli was given back to Turkey, and the convention of Lausanne, of August 4, 1923, substantially mitigated international control, partly restoring Turkish sovereignty over the straits. Contrary to historic tradition, Russia at that time opposed the opening of the straits, for fear of foreign intervention, while Britain insisted on it. The Convention of Montreux, of July 20, 1936, provided for remilitarisation and refortification of the straits by Turkey, abolition of former international guarantees, removal of the international commission, in short, full sovereignty of Turkey again, subject to the following conditions: In peacetime, commercial navigation in the straits is free. Warships above 10,000 tons, submarines and aircraft carriers are excluded; other naval vessels may pass only by day. In war-time, Turkey being neutral, warships of belligerents are banned from the straits. They may, however, pass without limitation if the action is taken by order of the League, or in fulfilment of a pact of assistance to which Turkey is a party. This pact must have been published and registered in Geneva. If Turkey is a belligerent,

THE DANUBE BASIN II: RACIAL DIVISIONS



DAVIS]

commercial navigation is closed to countries at war with Turkey, and to neutral ships carrying men or material in support of the enemy. The passage of warships is left to the discretion of Turkey in this case. If Turkey feels herself threatened by a war she may apply this rule to warships even in peace-time.

DAVIS, Norman Hezekiah, American banker and diplomat, born 1878 in Tennessee, was active in Cuban finance, became foreign loans adviser to the U.S. Treasury in 1917, was a member of the Armistice Commission and the Supreme Economic Council in 1919, Under-Secretary of State 1920-1921. Has frequently represented the U.S. at international conferences, was accorded the rank of Ambassador in 1933. Important personage in U.S. foreign policy, sympathetic with Britain and France.

DE FACTO RECOGNITION, an act whereby a new Government or State, without being recognised formally, is made a partner in international relations of any kind, e.g. diplomatic representatives may be exchanged with it, political or commercial treaties signed, or it may be admitted to international conferences.

DEFLATION, a reduction in money circulation, the opposite of > inflation, results in lower prices, shortage of credit and an improved currency position.

DEGRELLE, Léon, leader of Belgian Fascists. Born 1906 of a wealthy family, became a lawyer, formed the "Rex" (originally *Christus Rex*) group within the Belgian Catholic Party in 1935, soon left the latter and organised Rex as his own party on a Nazi-Fascist programme along German-Italian lines. Spread scandalous charges against ministers, won 21 seats at the general election in 1936 after a great deal of propaganda the funds for which were suspected to originate from Germany. In March 1937 Degrelle stood personally in a by-election against the then Prime Minister, van Zeeland; Degrelle was defeated with 275,000 votes against 69,000. This was a serious setback for the Rexist movement and in the election of April 1939 it was reduced to 4 seats.

DE JURE RECOGNITION, the formal recognition of a new Government or State, cf. > de facto recognition.

DEMAGOGY, instigation of the people by lies and misused half-truths. The word is derived from the Greek *demagogoi*, "seducers of the people", who appeared in Athens and other towns of ancient Greece during the period of decay.

DE MAN, Hendrik, Belgian Socialist politician, developed theories stressing the ethical aspect of socialism, author of the De Man Plan of 1934 providing for nationalisation of banks, coal mines, power plants, for a programme of public works and Government control of economic developments through the medium of credit control. De Man was subsequently for a time Minister of Finance, but his plan was not carried out.

DEMOCRACY, from Greek *demos*, people, and *kratein*, to rule, meaning government by the people. Democracy may be either direct, that is exerted by primary popular assemblies or by plebiscites on legislation, or indirect, exerted by representative institutions. Apart from Iceland, whose parliament is over

1,000 years old, existing democratic institutions were first developed in England in the 14th century, enlarged and backed by a corresponding political philosophy in the 16th and 17th centuries; the American and French revolutions at the end of the 18th century, both based on ideas of English origin, marked the beginning of modern democracy in the present sense. In the 19th century the majority of civilised nations adopted democratic constitutions. Democracy is usually based on the (English-born) theory of the division of powers (into the legislative, the executive and the judiciary powers), legislation being vested in a freely-elected parliament and executive power in a responsible Government. The Government may either proceed from, and be responsible to, parliament (parliamentary or Cabinet government, the most usual form, as in Britain) or proceed from, and be responsible to, the people (presidential government in the U.S.A.); in either case the Government must go out if parliament or people so desire. Democracy implies free choice at regular intervals between two or more parties; a single-party State cannot be democratic. As free candidacy and discussion are prerequisites for free choice, basic individual rights are essentials of democracy, i.e., freedom of opinion and speech, including freedom of the press, freedom of association, protection from arbitrary interference on the part of the authorities, primary safeguards against arbitrary arrest and prosecution. Democracy necessarily implies the existence of a recognised opposition.

Modern democracy takes the form of a republic or a constitutional monarchy, the basic principle being always the sovereignty of the people, expressed by the will of the majority. Alongside with structural developments in the economic and social system, particularly big concentrations of capital and economic power in a few hands, democracy has been challenged by "authoritarian" tendencies in recent times, and dictatorships, denying democratic methods and rights, have sprung up in a number of countries. The proletarian revolution in Russia also set democracy aside. Democracy continues to prevail in Great Britain and the British Dominions, the United States, France, the Scandinavian States, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland.

Suggestions for the reform of democracy have been numerous, either in the direction of restriction with a view to making it more efficient and eliminating its inevitable dissensions, its long discussions and its slow decisions: or in the direction of extension with a view to ensuring its full application by checking sectional influences from powerful economic quarters and party machines. An American democrat has said: "The only remedy for the shortcomings of democracy is—more democracy." Marxist Socialists hold that democracy in a society in which the *bourgeois* or capitalist class rules (owing to its economic might based on property) is necessarily limited, and that full or "true" democracy will be possible only in a socialist, classless society.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, one of the two great parties in the U.S.A., the other being the Republican. The party arose

DENMARK]

about 1787 in opposition to the "federalists", and advocated limitation of the power of the Union (to-day the reverse). It called itself also "Republican party". Its leader Jefferson became President in 1801, and in the so-called "Era of good feeling", 1817-1825, it was the only existing party. Then a split occurred over the tariff issue, the pro-tariff group seceded as the Republican Party and the remaining Jackson group took the name of Democratic Party. Another split occurred in the 'forties over the question of slavery. The Republican triumph in the civil war period pressed the Democrats into the background, and they did not recover till 1876. Democratic administrations were elected in 1884 and 1892 (Cleveland), 1912 and 1916 (Wilson), 1932 and 1936 (Roosevelt). The party is historically the low-tariff party, and is sometimes looked upon as the more liberal party in the U.S.A., but the difference between the two American parties is not simply a question of left and right, and there are liberal and conservative Republicans as well as liberal and conservative Democrats. The party is also supposed to be less isolationist than the Republican.

The 1936 platform provided in domestic policy: combating unemployment on a national scale, federal co-operation in other social issues, amendment of the Constitution if need be to strengthen federal power in this respect, opposition to monopolies, protection of the rights of labour, social insurance, aid to farmers; in foreign policy: good-neighbour policies, Monroe doctrine, Kellogg Pact, disarmament, taking profits out of war, no cancellation of foreign debts to U.S.A. Former demands for joining the League and the World Court were dropped. The Democratic Party has of old been strongest in the Southern States ("the Solid South"). It holds 261 of 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 69 of 96 seats in the Senate. Most important leaders are: Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the U.S., John M. Garner, Vice-president of the U.S. and President of the Senate, James A. Farley, Postmaster-General and Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, Alvin B. Barkley, party leader in the Senate, Sam Reyburn, party leader in the House of Representatives, William B. Bankhead, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DENMARK, Kingdom of, 16,500 sq. m., population 3,800,000, capital Copenhagen, ruler King Christian X, born 1870, ascended the throne in 1912. Traditionally neutral, collaborates politically with the other Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway). Latent friction with Germany over > Schleswig. Large agricultural exports, model dairy farming, Germany and Britain principal markets. Practically disarmed since 1924 owing to radical pacifism of Socialist Government; some defence measures resumed in the last few years. Out of 149 seats in the Folketing (Lower House) of the Rigsdag (Parliament) the Social-Democrats, moderate Socialists of the Second International with a strong basis among farm workers and smallholders, hold 68. They have been in Government (Premier Th. A. M. Stauning) since 1935, co-operating with the Radical Party (14 seats, leader C. T. Zahle), a left-wing liberal party. The Liberal

Party proper is in opposition; it represents farmers, is relatively conservative and holds 29 seats. There is also a Conservative Party (26 seats, leader J. C. Möller), nationalist, favouring Scandinavian co-operation and national defence. The King of Denmark is also King of Iceland (100,000 inhabitants) which is otherwise independent.

On the night from April 8 to April 9, 1940, Denmark was invaded and occupied by the German army. The Danish Government surrendered under protest. Denmark had maintained the strictest neutrality in the war, and there was not the slightest pretext for the German action. Germany pretended in the usual fashion to be "taking Denmark under her protection" against an allegedly threatening British attack. The real reason was to use Denmark as a basis in the German action against Scandinavia (> Norway) and to obtain control of Denmark's rich agricultural production.

DE VALERA, Eamonn (Edward), Irish statesman and Prime Minister, born October 14th, 1882, in New York, U.S.A., son of a Spanish immigrant and an Irishwoman. Was sent to Ireland as a three-year-old child, brought up by relations at Bruree, Co. Limerick. Graduated in mathematics at Dublin University in 1904, became a teacher, joined the Irish nationalist movement, learned and taught the Irish language. Took part in the Easter Week Rising at Dublin in 1916, was in command of an insurgent battalion, was captured, sentenced to death; the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, but De Valera was pardoned and released in June 1917. He joined the new Sinn Fein movement (> Ireland), became its president, was again arrested and imprisoned for a year in May 1918, went to the United States in May 1919 to champion the Irish cause, came back in December 1920, lived in hiding at Dublin during the first Irish civil war, directing Irish Republican activities as President-elect of the Dáil Eireann, also styled head of the Irish Republic. When the Anglo-Irish negotiations started in 1921, De Valera insisted on full Irish independence, developing the theory of "external association" for Ireland's relationship to the Empire. He disapproved of the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 which set up the Irish Free State as a Dominion, rose with the Irish Republican Army against the Free State Government, lived again in concealment at Dublin during the second Irish civil war, was arrested in 1923, released in 1924. Thereafter De Valera led the Republicans who refused to acknowledge the Free State, but in 1925 he organised a new party called Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Ireland) with a programme of co-operation in the Free State Parliament with independence as goal. The irreconcilable republicans withdrew their allegiance from him, and stripped him of the title of President of the Republic which they had continued to give him in theory. In 1927 he was elected to the Free State Dáil, and in 1932 his party won the election. De Valera became Prime Minister and embarked on a policy of gradual loosening of Southern Ireland's connection with the British Commonwealth. (> Eire). De Valera is a left-winger though a devout Catholic and no socialist. While steadily adhering to the policy of independence

DEVALUATION]

and re-union of Ireland, he rejects the violent > I.R.A. Since the outbreak of war he has pursued a policy of neutrality.

DEVALUATION, a reduction of the value of the currency. This can be done legally by reducing the amount of gold represented by the currency unit, or by leaving the > gold standard and leaving the currency adrift. Devaluation has been used to facilitate exports, as it cheapens goods in foreign currency, as well as to raise too low prices with a view to stimulating business enterprise, and to reduce the actual value of public and private debts.

DEWEY, Thomas E., American politician, born 1902 at Owosso, Mich., was a lawyer 1925-1931, became Chief Assistant to U.S. Attorney in 1931 and U.S. Attorney in 1933, was concerned with the Charles E. Mitchell tax case (1934) and became famous for his investigations of organised crime. Dewey, a Republican, has been mentioned as a presidential possibility in the 1940 election.

DICTATORSHIP, from Latin *dictator*, absolute rule of a person or group without the necessity of the consent of the governed. The term dates from the old Roman republic; when the State was in emergency, a man could be appointed *dictator* by the senate for seven years, and held absolute power for this period. Then he had to retire, and constitutional rule was re-established. Modern dictatorship is either personal or that of a group or class (army, proletariat), but even in the latter case it is usually embodied in the person of a leader.

DIETSCH, Dutch word used by "Greater Holland" nationalists and Dutch Nazis as a common name for Dutch and > Flemish. (> Mussert).

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, an international conference which met at Geneva on February 2, 1932, with a view to effecting a reduction of armaments. The preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles, instituting the disarmament of Germany, had envisaged general disarmament, saying: "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow." Also Art. 8 of the League Covenant had said that members "recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety", and the League Council was called upon to formulate plans for such a reduction. After the conclusion of the > Locarno Pact, which stressed this principle again, the Council decided on December 12, 1925, to set up a preparatory commission for a Disarmament Conference. The Commission met on February 15, 1926, and after nearly five years, on December 9, 1930, a draft convention was put forward which did not, however, go far towards actual disarmament, leaving out of the question such essential points as the number of trained reserves and technical war material. It provided for Germany remaining on the level of disarmament created by the peace treaty. Germany refused the draft convention and demanded equality. On January 24, 1931, the Council decided to call a "Conference for the reduction and limitation

of armaments"; and the conference met on February 2, 1932, Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) presiding. The U.S.A. also took part. The conference took an inharmonious course. Soviet Russia advocated radical measures of disarmament, Germany harped on the question of equality and France on that of security. On July 23, 1932, the conference adjourned for three months amidst great difficulties. On the resumption of the conference, Germany's equality was recognised by a declaration of the Great Powers on December 11, 1932, and on March 16, 1933, the then British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, presented a draft convention with 96 articles, providing for a substantial, though not complete, measure of disarmament in the course of eight years. Art. 96 provided for the substitution of the convention for Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. The plan was unanimously adopted on June 8, 1933. Later in the year Germany opposed the plan as denying German parity because it did not provide for immediate German rearmament up to the level of the other Powers, but suggested only gradual and limited German rearmament during the period of transition. France, on the other hand, sought to extend the period of transition and to exclude colonial troops. On October 14, 1933, Germany left the Conference, which adjourned indefinitely.

DJIBOUTI, principal town of French Somaliland on the western coast of the Red Sea. The colony (8,400 sq. m.) is situated between Italian Eritrea to the north, British Somaliland to the south and Abyssinia (now Italian) to the east. The Djibouti-Addis-Ababa railway, operated by a French company, is the only rail connection from the coast into Abyssinia, and Djibouti is Abyssinia's outlet to the sea. This is why Italy claims the cession of French Somaliland.

DOBRUDJA, south-eastern province of Rumania, taken partly from Bulgaria during the second Balkan War in 1913 and since then continuously claimed by Bulgaria. Under the peace treaty of > Bucharest in 1918 the province returned temporarily to Bulgaria but it was given back to Rumania by the treaty of Neuilly in 1919. A fertile and strategically important region, the Dobrudja is racially a very variegated pattern. Rumanian statistics claim a Rumanian majority, for the entire province: 360,000 Rumanians, 185,000 Bulgarians, 150,000 Turks and up to 813,000 Tartars, Germans, Greeks and Russian Lipovans. The Bulgarians claim a majority in the southern part which Rumanian statistics give as only 38% Bulgarian. See map of the Danubian Basin I.

DOMINION, a self-governing member-State of the > British Commonwealth. At present, there are four Dominions, viz.: > Canada; > Australia; > South Africa and > New Zealand. The Dominion status of > Newfoundland has been suspended since 1933, and the position of > Eire is not clear.

DOWNING STREET, contains the residence of the Prime Minister (No. 10), of the Chancellor of the Exchequer No. 11, and the Foreign Office.

DUCE, Italian for "Leader." Title assumed by > Mussolini.

ECONOMIC PENETRATION, the establishment by a country of a dominant economic position in another country with a view subsequently to achieving political control. It consists in large-scale investments, foundation and purchase of industries, construction of roads and railways, settlement of merchants and bank branches of the penetrating nationality, domination of the country's foreign trade, &c.

EDEN, Rt. Hon. Robert Anthony, M.P., British statesman. Born 1897, second son of Sir William Eden, Bt., a Yorkshire squire, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Went to the French Front in September, 1915, as second-lieutenant of the 60th Rifles, fought through the rest of the war unwounded, gained the Military Cross, was Captain at 20. Married the daughter of Sir Gervase Beckett, banker and part-owner of *The Yorkshire Post*, Leeds, and was elected Conservative M.P. for Leamington in 1923, which seat he has held since. Studied foreign affairs, became Parliamentary Private Secretary to the late Sir Austen Chamberlain and Foreign Under-secretary first under Lord Reading, then under Sir John Simon. His duties led him increasingly to Geneva, and he became a well-known and influential figure at League conferences. In 1934 he was appointed Lord Privy Seal and made a Privy Councillor. When at the "peace ballot" of 1935 eleven million persons had professed their loyalty to the League, it was decided to set up a Ministry for League Affairs, and Eden was appointed to this post. In this capacity, he urged League action against Italy during the Abyssinian conflict, opposed the Hoare-Laval plan and succeeded Sir Samuel Hoare as Foreign Secretary. He was 38 at the time. He favoured the sanctions policy, but was hampered by the half-and-half policy of the Baldwin administration ("sanctions without war"), the manifest weakness of Britain during this period and the non-collaboration of France. Later on, Eden was the first British Minister to visit Moscow and to see Stalin. In the Spanish civil war he supported non-intervention, opposed Italian encroachments, called the anti-piracy conference of Nyon. Subsequently Mussolini and Hitler attacked him, he opposed Chamberlain's plan to open new conversations with Italy before the old engagements had been fulfilled, and resigned on February 20, 1938. From then on he steadily opposed the policy of appeasement, and in 1939 saw the Government adopt the course which he had long advocated. When the present war broke out he was recalled into the Government as Minister for the Dominions with special access to the War Cabinet.

EGYPT, independent kingdom, 348,000 sq. m., population 16,000,000. Arab-speaking, capital Cairo. Ruler: King Farouk I of the Turko-Albanian Mohammed Ali dynasty, born February 11, 1920. Egypt was a semi-independent State under a hereditary viceroy (khedive) under Turkish suzerainty from 1841 to 1916. From 1882 it was occupied by British troops and under British administration. On December 18,

1914, a British Protectorate over Egypt was declared, and pro-German Khedive Abbas Hilmi was deposed. He was succeeded by Hussein Kemal who assumed the title of Sultan, and died in 1917, being succeeded by his brother Fuad, who was proclaimed King in 1922. A strong nationalist movement worked for full independence of Egypt subsequently, and on August 26, 1936, Egyptian sovereignty was recognised by the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance. Britain undertook to withdraw British troops from Egypt but was given the right of maintaining a garrison of 10,000 and 400 aircraft on the Suez Canal, of using Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases and of moving troops across Egypt in case of war or threat of war. Britain also undertook the defence of Egypt. King Fuad having died in 1936, young King Farouk I succeeded to the throne. The capitulations were abolished in 1937 under a twelve-year scheme. Illiteracy still amounts to 90%, contrasting with the active and well-educated intelligentsia of the nation.

The Egyptian Constitution of 1923, established by royal rescript, provides for a Lower House (Mejlis el Nuwab) of 150 members, elected by general franchise for five years, and an Upper House (Mejlis esh Shuyuk) of 100 members of whom 60 are nominated by the King, the remainder being elected. The Government is responsible to the Lower House. The royal prerogative is considerable. The policy pursued is one of gradual modernisation without hurting the feelings of conservative Moslems. The Egyptian army consists of 13,000 men in peace-time, having modern equipment and training. The defence of the Suez Canal is maintained by British troops until such time as Britain and Egypt agree that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation through the Canal.

Since the recognition of sovereignty in 1936, Egypt's attitude towards Great Britain has been one of friendship. Britain's interest in Egypt is based on the fact that the Suez Canal, one of the lifelines of the British Commonwealth, crosses Egyptian territory, and that the Sudan, an important cotton-producing area, is an Anglo-Egyptian condominium. At the outbreak of the present war, Egypt immediately severed relations with Germany.

EIRE, the former Irish Free State (> Ireland), 26,600 sq. m., population 3,000,000. The original constitution was along Dominion lines, with a Governor-General residing at Dublin. In the last few years, however, the ties with the British Commonwealth have been loosened. In the 1932 election the radical Fianna Fail party of De Valera was returned with a majority, and De Valera became Prime Minister after ten years' rule of the moderate Cosgrave party. Various constitutional amendments were passed which modified the Statute of 1921. The oath of allegiance to the King was abolished in the Irish Parliament. The functions of the Governor-General were systematically reduced. The Free State ceased paying the land annuities in defiance of an agreement concluded with Britain in 1922. Britain retaliated by imposing a 20% super-tariff

on Irish produce so as to recover the annuities. The Free State, in its turn, placed a special tariff on British goods. In 1937 De Valera submitted to the people a new Constitution which bordered on independence. The Constitution was approved by plebiscite on July 1, 1937, with a majority of 54%, and came into operation on December 29, 1937. Its principal provisions are: The name of the country is henceforth Eire, or in the English language Ireland. Irish and English are official languages. The national territory is declared to be the whole of Ireland, but so long as the six northern counties are separated from Eire, the laws enacted by the Irish Parliament shall apply only to the area hitherto known as the Free State. The Constitution declares the right of the Irish nation to choose its own form of Government and to determine its relations with other nations. It declares Ireland to be a sovereign, independent, democratic, Catholic State. A national flag, being a tricolour of green, white and orange, is introduced without any indication of the Union Jack as in other Dominions. No mention of the Crown is made in the Constitution. There is no longer a Governor-General but an elected President acts as Head of the State. Professor Douglas Hyde was elected first President of Eire (Uachtarán na hEireann). The President is elected for seven years. He summons and dissolves Parliament, signs and promulgates laws, is Supreme Commander of the armed forces and has the power of pardon. Parliament consists of the Dáil Eireann (Lower House) and the Seanad (Senate). The Government, headed by the Prime Minister (Taoiseach), is appointed by the President on nomination by the Dáil. It is responsible to the Dáil. The name of republic is avoided, but evidently the Crown is eliminated from Eire legislation. The Crown is, however, recognised in a subsidiary Act as Eire's instrument for action in external affairs, subject to the advice of Irish Ministers, so long as this shall remain convenient and so long as Eire shall be associated with the British Commonwealth. This comes near to the theory of "external association" developed by De Valera as early as 1921 for the relationship between Ireland and the British Commonwealth. In the present war, Eire has declared neutrality.

There has been a good deal of wondering whether Eire is still a Dominion, or a member of the British Commonwealth at all. Formally the constitutional changes are likely to be covered by the Statute of Westminster, adopted in 1931 and entitling the Dominions to repeal or amend any Acts of the British Parliament applying to them, which seems to include also the Irish Free State Act. On the other hand, the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1922 was something like a treaty between free and equal partners, usually not subject to one-sided repeal, and in the terms of the Balfour definition of 1926 (> British Empire) "common allegiance to the Crown" is essential for Dominion Status and membership in the British Commonwealth. Great Britain has neither recognised nor formally denounced the Eire Constitution.

Under an agreement, concluded between the British Prime

Minister, Neville Chamberlain, and De Valera in April 1938, the tariff war was brought to an end. In point of fact special trade agreements such as the cattle-coal exchange treaties had spanned the cleavage already for several years. Now Eire undertook to pay one-half of the land annuities again, the arrears being written off, while Britain gave up the naval stations in Eire which she had been entitled to maintain under the treaty of 1922.

Eire's principal grievance is partition. The incorporation of Ulster is, however, rendered difficult in view of the opposition of the majority of the population, confirmed once more by the election of 1938. (> Northern Ireland).

In the Dáil Éireann 77 seats out of 138 are held by De Valera's Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Ireland) Party, whose programme aims at the establishment of an independent, united Irish republic on friendly relations with Great Britain. 45 seats are held by the more moderate, conservative Fine Gael (United Ireland) Party of Cosgrave, standing for the unity of Ireland as an independent State-member of the British Commonwealth. Both parties foster the Irish language and culture. In 1921 Irish was spoken by only 15% of the population. The language is compulsorily taught to-day in all schools, and many have adopted it as a medium of instruction. In practical use, however, whether private, commercial or parliamentary, English still by far prevails. There is also an Irish Labour Party holding 9 seats, with a moderate, predominately economic programme. There is also a small group of uncompromising Republicans, clinging to the thesis that the Irish Republic, proclaimed in 1916, still exists, and that the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1922 is invalid. Their most radical wing is the illegal > I.R.A. (Irish Republican Army).

EMBARGO, a ban on the export of certain goods or on the granting of loans to foreign countries.

ENCIRCLEMENT, in German *Einkreisung*, a German slogan denouncing the formation of an alliance between Britain, France and any East European State in order to stop German aggression. Was first used by Reich Chancellor von Bülow in 1906 to promote enactment of his Navy Bills, then popularised all over Germany. In fact Britain made almost desperate efforts between 1895 and 1903 to come to an alliance with Germany and turned towards the French and Russian connection only after Germany had persistently refused all offers and embarked on a clearly anti-British policy. In the years preceding the Great War of 1914-1918, Britain continuously renewed her attempts to come to an understanding with Germany, and so loose was her "encircling" association with France and Russia that those countries did not know even at the outbreak of war whether Britain would come in. Anyway, the "Triple Entente" was essentially a defensive association, and not an offensive scheme to choke Germany's commercial rivalry, as German text-books usually describe it.

The encirclement slogan was revived when Britain started building the anti-aggression front in March 1939 after the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany. British guarantees

ENCYCLICAL]

extended to Poland, Rumania, Greece and Turkey were labelled "encirclement", still more the British bid for an alliance with Russia. The purpose of this policy, according to Nazi propaganda, was to deny Germany the "Lebensraum" or living-space which she was justly claiming. From the British point of view it was purely defensive.

ENCYCLICAL, from Latin *bulla encyclica*, a circular letter by the Pope on religious and political questions. The opinions and directions contained in an encyclical have not the power of a dogma but come rather near to it. Issued only on important occasions and defining papal policies over a length of time, they are significant documents. Famous political encyclicals were, Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* (anti-Socialist), Pius XI's *Quadragesimo anno* (for a Christian Corporate State) and *Mit brennender Sorge* (in German, anti-Nazi).

ENTENTE CORDIALE, French, "cordial understanding", the understanding reached in 1904 between Great Britain and France. The friendship between the two countries has continued ever since.

ERSATZ, German word for "substitute," used to denote artificial substitutes for raw materials and foodstuffs lacking in Germany. In the last war the word acquired a derogatory ring, and Nazis dislike its use although they rely on *Ersatz* to a far greater extent than the German Government did in the years 1914-1918.

ESTONIA, one of the small Baltic States, 18,000 sq. m., population 1,200,000, capital Tallinn, formerly known as Reval. A Russian province till 1918, Estonia became an independent republic in that year, warded off a Communist attack, and carried on a distinctly anti-Communist but otherwise neutral policy since. There was a German minority enjoying a high degree of autonomy. Agriculture, dairy farming and cattle breeding are the chief industries. Britain and Germany are the principal trade partners. A dictatorship, established in 1935, was abolished by plebiscite in 1936, but the new Constitution adopted on that occasion was drawn up along authoritarian lines again. No political parties are permitted, and only candidates approved by the Government were allowed to present themselves for election. "Eldest of the State", or President, is Constantin Paets. Estonia, like the other Baltic countries, acted as a buffer State between Germany and Russia. In October 1939, Soviet Russia availed herself of the European war to force a virtual protectorate upon Estonia as on the other Baltic States. Estonia had to conclude an alliance with Russia, and Russian garrisons, naval and air bases were established at Baltischport (Baltiski), on the islands of Dago and Oesel, and at Pitrags. The German minority was shipped to Germany. See map of the Baltic.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL PRINCIPLE, the principle that all persons of the same race or language should be united in a common State and political boundaries should be identical with ethnographical ones.

EUPEN-MALMÉDY, a territory of 382 sq. m., with a population of 65,000 (chief towns Eupen, Malmédy and Moresnet),

[EXCHANGE CONTROL

German until 1919, ceded to Belgium under the treaty of Versailles. The cession was confirmed by plebiscite in 1920. The population is mixed, partly German, partly Belgian (French-speaking Walloons). The Germans have linguistic rights and enjoy full equality of status in Belgium. There has been a great deal of Nazi agitation in the area in the last few years, and its return has formed one of the further demands up the Nazi sleeve. The German claim is that 80% of the population are German, and that French is spoken only in the region of Malmédy.

EXCHANGE CONTROL, a system under which the Government or the Central Bank controls all transactions in foreign exchange with a view to regulating exchange rates and the value of the currency.

FABIAN SOCIETY, a society of British Socialist thinkers established 1883. Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw were leading personalities from the outset, soon joined by Beatrice Potter, later Mrs. Webb. The Fabians developed a non-Marxist, evolutionary and democratic system of socialism, deriving their name from Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the cautious Roman general. Their philosophy was idealistic, not materialistic like the Marxian one, and they placed their belief in spreading the conviction that socialism is a better system than capitalism rather than in class struggle. In economics they followed Ricardo and Bentham, liberal economists, instead of Marx. The Fabian Research Department has produced a long series of important works and studies. In the course of their history the Fabians helped to make the Independent Labour Party, the Labour Party and other political bodies, and in 1918 the Labour Party adopted an essentially Fabian programme drafted by Webb. The Fabian Society has been one of the most fertile organisations in British political history, and many leading personalities not only in Labour but also in other parties are members of this body. In 1918 the Fabian Research Department severed its relations with the Fabians and changed its name to Labour Research Department. It has been said to be under Communist influence. In 1931 the New Fabian Research Bureau was set up to take its place. In 1931 this body amalgamated with the Fabian Society. Since the beginning of the present war the Society has taken on a new lease of life as a centre for independent discussion and research within the socialist movement. It is affiliated to the Labour Party. President is Lady Passfield (Mrs. Beatrice Webb), Chairman G. D. H. Cole, General Secretary John Parker, M.P.

FALANGISTS, Spanish Fascists with a programme similar to that of Italian Fascism, co-operated with General Franco during the civil war 1936-1939, showed signs of social radicalism, were put down in 1938 by the Conservative military caste, Franco himself assuming the leadership of the Falanges. The Falanges are now the only political organisation permitted in Spain. Their original leader, Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former Spanish dictator, was shot by the Republicans.

FARLEY, James A., American Democratic leader, U.S. Postmaster-General, National Chairman of the Democratic Party, chief party adviser of President Roosevelt. Important personality in American politics, with strong control over the party, one of the leading Roman Catholics in the U.S., has been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate for 1940. Visited Warsaw, Poland, in August 1939.

FASCISM, Italian nationalist movement founded by Mussolini in 1919. Its first units were called *fasci di combattimento*; the word *fascio* (bundle) had been used by various Italian radical associations before. Later on the movement adopted the

literal *fascio*, a bundle of rods with an axe, the token of State power carried by the lictors in ancient Rome ahead of the Consuls, as its symbol. The programme was nationalistic, authoritarian, anti-communistic and anti-parliamentary. On the history of Fascism see the special article on Mussolini. The social system aimed at by Fascism is the > Corporate State. Fascism claims to be neither capitalistic nor socialistic. It maintains private property but places its use under State control. Class struggle is rejected and industrial disputes are forbidden. Trade unions and manufacturers' associations, both Fascist-controlled, are to co-operate in the corporations. While in the first years of Fascism the capitalistic structure of Italy remained essentially unchanged in spite of the adoption of corporate institutions, the last few years have revealed growing tendencies towards planned economy.

The Fascist Party is the only authorised political organisation in Italy. Members are bound to obey Mussolini in every respect. ("Mussolini a sempre ragione," Mussolini is always right.) Fascists wear black shirts and use the Roman greeting with uplifted arms. Spirit and organisation are militaristic. The statute says that the Party is a civil militia at the orders of the *Duce* (Mussolini) and the service of the State, and that its principal aim is to achieve the greatness of the Italian people. The party is anti-democratic and anti-liberal. Fascism upholds violence, rejects civil liberties and is > totalitarian. It claims the monopoly of education in its youth organisations, the *Balilla* for children from 6 to 12 and the *Avanguardia* for youngsters from 12 to 18. Members wear uniform and receive military training in very early years. When 18 the young Fascist is accepted into the Party. No members other than those proceeding from the youth organisations have been enlisted since 1927 when membership reached one million. The Party maintains its own army, the M.V.S.N. (*Milizia volontare sicurezza nazionale*, voluntary militia for national security), whose organisation, training and standing are practically equal to those of the regular army. Militia units have fought in the Abyssinian war.

The Fascist party stands for nationalism, imperialism seeks to revive the traditions of the Roman Empire, and to educate the nation to discipline, order, labour and soldiery. The theoretical influence of > Sorel, Pareto, Nietzsche and Machiavelli is visible. The Italian monarchy has been preserved, but its actual importance has been greatly reduced. In 1927 the *Carta del lavoro* was adopted, regulating the position of workers and recognising their social rights, in theory at least. The supreme organ of the party is the Fascist Grand Council appointed by Mussolini. The Council has the right to nominate the *Duce's* successor when his post becomes vacant. Fascism cares for good relations with the Roman Catholic Church and has restored the > Vatican State by the Lateran treaties of 1929. Jews co-operated in the party from the beginning and held important posts; when Mussolini adopted an anti-Jewish policy under Nazi influence in 1938, they were expelled. Important party leaders besides Mussolini are A.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM]

Starace, Count Ciano, D. Alfieri, G. Bottai, E. Rossoni, I. Balbo, A. Farinacci. The three first-named leaders are known as supporters of collaboration with Nazi Germany, while the Fascist "Old Guard" is critical of the > Axis policy.

Italian Fascism has served as a model to a number of similar movements in other countries, in particular to German > National-Socialism, although Mussolini declared in 1927 that Fascism was "no export article". In spite of nationalism being the very essence of Fascism a sort of Fascist International had developed by 1939 and World Fascism seemed on the march. The "Fascintern" fell to pieces at the outbreak of the present war, but developments are still in flux. Fascism regards the democracies as "plutocracies" and itself as virtually more democratic.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, the U.S. central bank system. organised in 1915. There are twelve Federal Reserve Banks located in the most important regions of the U.S. In 1936 the Federal Reserve Board came into office under the Banking Act of 1935. The Board has seven members, appointed by the President with the advice of the Senate. It has wide powers to control the supply of credit and to supervise banking. The Federal Reserve System has definitely concentrated money control in the hands of the Federal Government. President of the Federal Reserve Board is Marriner S. Eccles.

FEDERAL UNION, a proposal for establishing a federation among the democratic countries of the world as a preliminary stage to a later world federation. A society was established under the same name at mid-year 1939 in London to work for the achievement of Federal Union. The original proposition made by Clarence K. Streit in his book *Union Now* (Jonathan Cape, London) provides for a federation of fifteen States, to wit, Britain, the U.S.A., France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Ireland. The argument is that these States (with few exceptions) form a sort of geographical unit by being grouped around the Atlantic; that they have a closely interconnected civilisation and a common cultural outlook; that they are at the same stage of political development; and that the chief market of each of them is formed by the rest, 70 per cent of the trade of the democracies being with each other. W. B. Curry, in his book *The Case for Federal Union* (a Penguin Special), recommends including also a re-democratised Germany on terms of equality after the war. The Federal Union would have a Constitution on the model of the U.S.A., with a common executive, common army and navy, a common customs area and a common foreign policy. The constituent States would retain a considerable measure of autonomy, but would be bound to have a democratic system of Government. Colonies of the member-States would be handed over to the Federal Government for administration in the common interest, including such places as Gibraltar and the Suez Canal.

FEUDALISM, the rule of the landed aristocracy, characterised by the prevalence of agriculture and concentration of land

property in the hands of big feudal landowners. It was the general political and economic system in Europe till the French Revolution in 1789. England had ended feudalism already under Cromwell. Feudalism was destroyed by the rise of modern industry and the > *bourgeois*, i.e. citizen class, connected with it, but considerable remains of the feudal system still survive in many countries.

FIANNA FÁIL (Soldiers of Ireland), > De Valera's radical nationalist party. (> Ireland.)

FIFTH COLUMN, a term originating from the Spanish war 1936-1939, when the Nationalists under General > Franco attacked the Republicans in four columns from the outside, while their adherents organised uprisings, espionage and sabotage within the republican ranks. These secret fighters behind the front were called the "fifth column".

FINE GAEL (United Ireland), Cosgrave's moderate nationalist Irish party. (> Ireland.)

FILIBUSTERING (U.S.A.), holding up Bills in the Senate by organising a continuous succession of interminable opposition speeches.

FINLAND, 135,000 sq. m., population 3,800,000, capital Helsingfors (Helsinki). Finnish is a language of the Ural-Altaic group, remotely akin to Turkish and Hungarian. There is a 10% Swedish minority in Finland, enjoying full equality. Both Finnish and Swedish are official languages. Finland was part of Sweden from 1154 to 1809, when it became an autonomous Grand Duchy within Russia. After the Russian revolution in 1917, Finland declared independence; the Communists tried to conquer it, but with the help of German troops the Finns prevailed. Anti-Communist in principle, but otherwise neutral, Finland lined up with the Scandinavian States in general policy to such an extent that she is already frequently reckoned among the Nordic States. The régime is parliamentary. A Fascist movement named "Lappo" had only temporary success, and at the election of 1938 the Socialists were returned as the largest party with 83 delegates. Second-largest are the conservative Agrarians (53), third the Swedes (21), fourth the conservative Unionists (20), fifth the pro-Nazi Patriots (14), sixth the liberal democratic National Progressives (7). President is Kyosti Kallio, elected in 1937 for a six-year term. Finland was the only country to pay her war debts to the United States without a hitch, a fact which won great sympathy for her in America.

In October 1939 Soviet Russia presented Finland with demands aiming at the establishment of Russian naval bases on Finnish islands in the Gulf of Finland and on the Finnish mainland at Hangö, the cession of the Arctic port of Petsamo and other frontier adjustments, and additional demands similar to those which the other > Baltic States had been forced to accept. When Finland refused part of these demands, Soviet Russia invaded her on November 30, 1939. The Finns resisted heroically for more than three months, but at the beginning of March 1940 the Russians pierced the > Mannerheim Line, and Finland surrendered. All countries except Germany had

FIVE-YEAR PLANS]

sympathised with the Finns, and considerable quantities of war material had been sent to them by Britain, France, Sweden and others. But this had not been sufficient to make up for the overwhelming numerical and material superiority of the Russians. On March 10, 1940, the British and French Prime Ministers announced that an Allied expeditionary force of 100,000 was ready to go to the help of Finland if the Finnish Government would appeal for aid. But the Scandinavian countries objected to the passage of the Allied troops for fear of German reprisals, and the official appeal was not made. On March 11, 1940, a peace treaty between Russia and Finland was signed in Moscow. Finland ceded to Russia the Karelian Isthmus and the western shore of Lake Ladoga, including the Mannerheim line and the port of Viborg. She also ceded the Fisherman's Peninsula in the north and leased the naval base of Hangoe, near Helsinki, to Russia. She undertook to join no alliances directed against Russia. See map of the Baltic.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS, the economic plans of Soviet Russia of which the first one (1927-1932) provided for the creation of basic industries while the second (1932-1937) and third (1937-1942) paid greater attention also to the processing industries and the production of articles of consumption. The plans, worked out by a central planning office ("Gosplan"), have been duly fulfilled in general, despite many deficiencies in details. The first Five-Year Plan in particular had to be bought by great privations of the population. Under the Five-Year Plans the annual production in Soviet Russia of important goods rose from 1927 to 1938 as follows (in million tons): coal from 35 to 140, pig iron from 3 to 15, steel from 3 to 18, oil from 11 to 30, cement from 11 to 66, motor vehicles (units) from 0 to 170,000. Agricultural developments have been less spectacular. The Russian peasants destroyed a great deal of cattle in face of forced collectivisation and they seem also to have been hampered in their zeal for production by considerations of the limited equivalent received from the State. While in 1938 industrial production reached nine times the figure of 1913, grain production was only 118% of 1913 and the number of cattle only 104% of 1916. The Five-Year Plans are based on the principle of self-sufficiency, including only a limited amount of foreign trade.

FLEMISH (also Flemings), a people of 4,500,000, inhabiting the west of Belgium and forming slightly more than one half of Belgium's population. Their language closely resembles Dutch, but the pronunciation is different and there are local peculiarities. Flanders, the land of the Flemish, was part of the Netherlands until the organisation of the Kingdom of Belgium after the Brussels revolution of 1830. The Flemish are Roman Catholics, while the Dutch are prevailingly Protestants. In theory equal to the French-speaking Walloons of Belgium from the outset, the Flemish formed in fact the less influential part of the population in the 19th century, their language and culture being regarded as inferior to the French. In the second half of the 19th century a Flemish revival began, but the most outstanding Flemish poet, Charles de Coster,

wrote his national novel *Ulenspiegel* in French. In the World War of 1914-1918 the Flemish fought loyally against the Germans alongside with the Walloons, but behind the German Front a group of Flemish nationalists co-operated with the German occupants with a view to setting up an autonomous or independent Flanders. After the war, these persons were prosecuted by the Belgian Government, but pardoned later on. The Flemish, however, kept on demanding autonomy, and while they have not attained that so far, they have achieved various other concessions, such as the division of the country into three language districts in 1932 (Flanders with Flemish as official language), the Flemisation of Ghent University, more posts in civil service and a general enhancement of their status. The Flemish nationalists proper (Vlaamsch National Verbond), have only 17 deputies, but Flemish nationalism has been exerting great indirect influence within other Belgian Parties. (> Belgium.) Radical Flemish nationalists envisage union of Flanders with Holland (somewhat to the embarrassment to the Dutch Government, which is on most friendly terms with Belgium); they speak of Dutch and Flemish forming one nation called "Dietsch". Germany has always sympathised with the Flemings, sometimes calling them "Lower Germans" along with the Dutch. Nazi propaganda in Flanders has been considerable for the last few years, and the growing Flemish influence was one of the factors responsible for Belgium's recent detachment from France and her return to the policy of neutrality.

FOURTEEN POINTS, President Wilson's terms for the liquidation of the World War of 1914-1918, laid down in his address of January 8, 1918. The fourteen points were in brief: 1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at; no more private international understandings. 2. Freedom of the seas. 3. Removal so far as possible, of all economic barriers. 4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. 5. Impartial adjustment of all colonial claims. 6. Evacuation of all Russian territory; Russia independently to determine her political development. 7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium. 8. Evacuation and restoration of occupied French territory, return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. 9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers along clearly recognisable lines of nationality. 10. The freest opportunity of autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. 11. Evacuation of Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro; free access to the sea for Serbia; mutual relations of the Balkan States to be determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; international guarantees for them. 12. Autonomous development for non-Turkish parts of Turkey; free passage through the Dardanelles. 13. Erection of an independent Polish State, including the territories inhabited by indisputable Polish populations, with a free and secure access to the sea, and guaranteed by international covenant. 14. A general association of nations affording mutual guarantees to great and small States alike.

FOUR-YEAR PLANS]

Points 1 (as far as the abolition of secret diplomacy was concerned), 3, 4, 5, 9 have not been fulfilled, the rest were carried out and sometimes (points 10 and 12) even over-fulfilled, except for certain details and the proposed international guarantees. The latter were, however, embodied in the League Covenant. German propaganda has harped on the non-fulfilment of various points, especially the disarmament point, to justify German rearmament and breach of the peace treaties, claiming that Germany had "laid down her arms in 1918 in trust of Wilson's promises" and had been deceived. In reply it is argued that Germany laid down her arms simply because she was beaten, exhausted and in revolution, and trust or mistrust of anything had little influence on her decision.

FOUR-YEAR PLANS, Nazi plans for the economic development of Germany, established in imitation of the Russian > Five-Year Plans. The first Four-Year Plan covered the years 1933 to 1936 inclusive (announced by Hitler in May 1933), and consisted ostensibly in a modest programme of house repairs, road building and other public works. In fact this plan was superseded by a vast programme of rearmament with the aid of which Germany indeed succeeded in ending unemployment. The second Four-Year Plan as announced by Hitler in September 1936 was to cover the years from 1937 to 1940 inclusive, and was devoted to the development of substitute industries to reach complete economic self-sufficiency for Germany. This referred especially to making oil from coal, the production of artificial textiles, and the opening up of Germany's ore reserves. Alongside this programme rearmament continued. The second Four-Year Plan was still in progress when the present war broke out, and self-sufficiency had not been reached in any field. Oil production had reached only 35% of Germany's peace-time requirements, artificial fibre 20%, iron ores (in iron value) 22%, base metal ores 15% of needs. As for agricultural products, no appreciable improvement on the previous state of domestic supplies (about 80% on an average, but only 50% in fats) had been attained.

FRANCE, 212,600 sq. m., population 42,000,000. President > A. Lebrun, elected in April 1939 for a second seven-year term. France is a republic with a National Assembly consisting of two Chambers. The Chamber of Deputies is elected directly for a four-year term. The last election took place in April 1936, and the next would be due about the same time in 1940; but the election was postponed for two years by a Governmental decree in July 1939, issued on the ground of full powers conferred on the Government. The Senate is elected indirectly by the municipal councils and special electoral bodies, and is renewed by thirds every three years. The composition of the Senate is often very different from that of the Chamber owing to this system, and dissensions between the two Chambers are of frequent occurrence. As a rule the influence of the Senate is exercised in a conservative sense. Both Chambers are equal in rights, and laws must be passed by both. The President is elected for seven years by both Houses in common sitting.

The present Chamber has 618 members, composed as follows:

1. *Parties of the Left.* 73 Communists, leaders Thorez, Duclos, Cachin. The Communist Party was suppressed after the outbreak of war in September 1939. 155 Socialists, strongest party, moderately Marxist with the usual labour programme; leaders > Blum, Zyromsky (left), Faure (right), Vincent Auriol, Marx-Dormoy. 12 Independent Leftists.

2. *Parties of the Centre.* Socialist and Republican Union, 29 Deputies, leaders Paul-Boncour, Pâtenotre, de Monzie. The Party stands half-way between the moderate Socialists and the Radicals and is composed of dissident ex-members of these two Parties. Radical and Radical-Socialist Party, 116 deputies, not a Socialist Party despite the name, but the Party of the middle class and the small farmers, defending private property, anti-clerical, nationalist, democratic and progressive. This Party holds the key position in French politics. Its electorate is rather solid and it dominates the Senate. The Radicals have varyingly co-operated with the Socialists (*cartel des gauches*, Popular Front) and with the right-wing Parties (national concentration, Daladier). Leaders are > Daladier, Herriot, > Chautemps, Jeanneney, Sarraut, Caillaux, Steeg. In the Senate the Radicals appear under the name of the "Democratic Left"; French Parties have often different names in the Chamber and in the Senate, and sometimes a third name for use outside the Parliament. The names of the Parties do not necessarily bear any relation to their programmes.

3. *Parties of the Right.* Democratic Alliance, 40 deputies, calling themselves Left Republicans and Independent Radicals in the Chamber and Republican Union in the Senate, leader ex-Premier Flandin. Represents an industrial and commercial electorate. Democratic Left and Independent Radicals, 38 deputies, the left wing of the foregoing Party, not to be confused with the Democratic Left (the Radicals) in the Senate, moderately conservative, leader Chappedelaine. National Republican Party, 62 deputies, known as Republican Federation in the Chamber and as Republican Union, together with the Democratic Alliance, in the Senate. Strongly conservative, nationalist, representing wealth and the non-royalist aristocracy, regarded as the political agency of the *Comité des forges*, the committee of the French iron and steel industry. Leaders Louis Marin, Taittinger, Millerand, F. de Wendel. Independent Republicans, 11 deputies, nationalist, leader G. Mandel, former secretary to the late Clemenceau. Independent Republicans of Social Action, 15 deputies, nationalist, leaders Tardieu, Pernot. Popular Democrats, mildly conservative, composed of liberal clericals, 14 deputies, leader P. Simon. French Social Group, 9 deputies, leader Ybarnegaray. Independent Popular Action, 15 deputies, clerical, mostly Alsatian.

The Senate has 314 members grouped quite differently from the Chamber, as has already been remarked. The Democratic Left, including the Radical and the Socialist Republicans

FRANCE]

Union, holds 151 seats, 65 are held by the right-wing Republican Union and 27 by the moderately conservative Democratic and Republican Union, a group existing only in the Senate and led by Yves le Trocqueur and H. Bordeaux. There are only 15 Socialist and 2 Communist Senators. In April 1936 the "Popular Front" was formed, on Communist initiative, by the Socialists, Communists and Radicals. It won the subsequent election and a Government of Socialists and Radicals under Léon Blum was called to power. The Popular Front Government carried out a series of reforms. (> Blum.) The momentum of the French Popular Front movement waned, however, in view of the gradual defeat of its Spanish opposite number in the Civil War and the continuing economic difficulties. Blum was replaced by Chautemps and the latter, in turn, by Daladier. Social reforms were partially revoked, especially the 40-hour week, and a more conservative line was adopted. While Daladier's Cabinet had originally been a Popular Front one, he later relied on a majority formed by the Radicals and right-wing groups, ruling mostly by emergency decrees. When Poland was attacked by Hitler on September 1, 1939, France came to her aid together with Britain, and declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. Daladier continued to rule on the strength of extraordinary powers; but in March 1940, owing to Parliamentary misgivings, was succeeded by > Reynaud's coalition Cabinet which included six Socialists.

There have been 105 governments since the establishment of the Republic in 1871, and the average life of a French Cabinet is about eight months. The régime is strictly parliamentary and the Government depends on the confidence of the Chamber. Lawyers prevail in the political profession. The budget and the currency have been a source of permanent trouble since the last war, and industrial disputes used to be rather sharp until recently. The decrease in the birth-rate continues to be a serious factor; the French population has been stationary for forty years. This leaves France with 42,000,000 people confronted with almost double that number of Germans. During the last three years there has been an average annual excess of deaths over births of 11,000.

After the last war France had risen to a dominant position on the Continent and built up a system of alliances in East Europe. France was chiefly responsible for a number of articles in the peace treaties which proved untenable later on. Ressentiment against Germany kept on for years after the war but eventually France joined in the policy of > Locarno (1925), agreed to the premature evacuation of the Rhineland (1930) and the abolition of the reparations (1932). She opposed, however, thorough > disarmament and military equality for Germany (1933). France has sometimes been blamed for these policies but other observers hold that her distrustful attitude towards Germany has been justified by subsequent events.

On Hitler's advent to power in Germany, France refrained for a long time from active opposition to Germany's policy of rearmament and expansion. She wanted peace, and Britain was exerting a mitigating influence on her. With the re-birth

of German might France's position deteriorated. French influence seemed on the wane in East Europe after the abandonment of Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 but this trend came to an end when France took up arms in September 1939 in defence of Poland. In 1938 France was confronted with Italian claims regarding >Tunis, >Djibouti, >Corsica and Nice. The basis of French foreign policy is close friendship with Britain, and the Anglo-French alliance has proved the most stable political *bloc* in the world to-day.

The French army, recruited by national conscription, has 5,300,000 trained reserves. The navy, the fourth strongest in the world, consists of 7 battleships, 19 cruisers, 59 destroyers and 77 submarines, and more ships are under construction. France produced 48 million tons of coal, 38 million tons of iron ore and 8 million tons of steel in 1938. She holds gold worth £400,000,000, the third largest gold reserve in the world.

The French colonial empire, the second largest and most valuable in the world after the British one, comprises an area of 4,620,000 sq. m., with a population of 65,000,000. African colonies or dependencies are: >Algeria, >Tunis, >Morocco, French-Somaliland with >Djibouti, the enormous territory of French West and Equatorial Africa (2,800,000 sq. m.) and Madagascar. Asiatic colonies or dependencies are >Indochina, Pondicherry in India, and the Mandated Territories of >Syria and Lebanon.

FRANCO, Francisco, Spanish general and dictator. Born 1892 in Galicia, served in the Spanish army in Morocco, became colonel in 1926, served under the republic in the Balearics and again in Morocco, became chief of staff in 1935. Under the Lerroux Government he was Governor of the Canary Islands. From Morocco he organised the military uprising in July 1936 that led to the Spanish civil war, and assumed the leadership of the insurgents when General Sanjurjo, their original head, was killed in an airplane crash while hurrying to the spot. On October 1, 1936, he proclaimed himself Chief of the State ("Caudillo") and Commander-in-Chief. After almost three years of bitter fighting, in which he received considerable support from Italy and Germany, he eventually defeated the Republicans and made himself master of the whole country. He joined the Anti-Comintern Pact in May 1939, but negotiations on an alliance with Germany and Italy made no progress, the more so as some of Franco's leading generals opposed it. The conclusion of the German-Russian pact on August 23, 1939, shocked Franco, who had just finished a war against an opponent supported by Soviet Russia, and Spain declared neutrality in the present war. His right-hand man is Señor Suñer, his brother-in-law and an influential member of his Government. Despite his ideological affinity with dictatorial States he seems determined to follow a Spanish, as distinct from a German or Italian, policy.

FREE ECONOMY, a school of economists striving to cure economic evils by a new monetary system. The basic idea is that the value of money should be automatically reduced every month, and replaced by new money. This would enforce

FREE PORT]

steady circulation of money, as people would endeavour to pass it on, before its value went down. A steady flow of money would ensure steady employment, and there would be no economic crises. Free economists wish to maintain freedom of enterprise and to avoid socialism. Silvio Gesell developed the theory in Germany, and the > Social Credit movement is its English variant.

FREE PORT, also Free Harbour, a port in one state which another state has been granted the right to dispose of as though it were her own, loading and unloading goods and conveying them to and from the harbour without interference and without customs duties.

FREE TRADE, the system of unlimited international commerce, for all practical purposes identical with a low-tariff policy. The free trade doctrine arose in the 17th and 18th centuries in protest against mercantilism (the policy of closing the frontiers and producing everything at home) and the trade monopolies of chartered companies trading overseas, and became linked up with Liberalism. Britain came to be the classical free trade country after the repeal of the Corn Laws and Peel's low tariff acts in the forties. Free trade was the prevailing system all over the world until the 'eighties when general industrialisation resulted in the desire of many countries to protect their industries by higher tariffs. Germany and the U.S.A. were the leading Powers of "protectionism". There was also a high-tariff movement in Britain but it was defeated in the 1906 election which brought the victory of the free-trade professing Liberals. After the World War of 1914-1918 protection was carried to excessive lengths everywhere, and finally even Britain adopted a medium-high protective tariff in 1932. Yet Britain's trade policy continues to be more liberal than that of any other country. Other traditional free trade countries, though likewise equipped with moderate protective tariffs to-day, are Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian States. The adherents of free trade claim that free international exchange of goods is most economical and makes for international collaboration and peace ("peace, good will, free trade"). High-tariff adherents on the other hand claim that their system secures protection of domestic industries and jobs from foreign competition.

FRICK, Dr. Wilhelm, Nazi leader, one of the "Big Six" appointed to direct German warfare. One of the oldest party members, became Minister in the State Government of Thuringia (German province) in 1930 (the first Nazi Minister in Germany) and Reich Minister of the Interior in 1933.

FÜHRER, German for "Leader". Title assumed by > Hitler.

GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand, LL.D., Indian leader. Born October 2, 1869, educated at Rajkot and London, Barrister-at-Law (Inner Temple), practised law in Bombay and in South Africa where he championed the cause of Indians living there. During the Boer War and the Zulu uprising in Natal, Gandhi led an Indian Ambulance Corps. In the Great War of 1914-1918, he again organised an Ambulance Corps and conducted a recruiting campaign in the Kaira district. In 1918 he assumed the leadership of the Indian Nationalist movement, introducing quite new methods. He rejected armed rebellion and recommended the overthrow of British rule through the peaceful methods of non-co-operation and non-violent civil disobedience (*satyagraha*). This conception transferred ideas of Tolstoy (> anarchism) from the field of social revolution to that of national emancipation. It has also been stated, rightly or wrongly, that it was a typical expression of the unwarlike and somewhat passive southern Hindu mentality. The Gandhi movement spread to a considerable extent, and in 1922 Gandhi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He was, however, released in 1924, and became president of the Indian National Congress in that year. His behaviour, his suffering and his ascetic life won great prestige for him among the Hindu population, and his followers honoured him with the title of "Mahatma" (Great Soul). From 1925 to 1929, Gandhi kept in the background, to come to the fore again in April 1930, when he started the salt *satyagraha*, violating the unpopular salt monopoly of the Government by publicly distilling salt from sea water on the shore. He was interned again, but released in January 1931, to go to the round-table Conference in London. (> India.) On March 31, 1931, he signed a truce with Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. Following further unrest, Gandhi was once more arrested in January 1933 and again released in May 1933. In the following year he left the National Congress, saying he wished to retire from politics. In fact, however, he took up a watching position in the background, living in the village of Wardha, C.P., and remaining the most influential figure in the Indian nationalist movement. He showed some inclination towards the right-wing group in the Congress and used his secret influence in a sense not always welcome to the Socialist Congress leader > Nehru. In 1937 he appeared on the scene again, mediating between the Government and the Congress party on the question of the assumption of office by the party in the Provinces.

After the outbreak of the present war Gandhi condemned Hitler's methods of force, and since then his attitude has not been essentially anti-British. He negotiated with the Viceroy on behalf of the Congress about Dominion status for India. He was dissatisfied with the British decision to postpone a settlement till after the war, and early in 1940 he began once more to organise a campaign of non-co-operation.

GARNER, John Nance, U.S. Vice-President, born 1869 in Red

GENERAL ACT]

River County, Texas, the son of pioneers. Worked cattle in daytime; studied law at night; admitted to the bar 1890, practised law at Uvalde, Tex. Elected to the Texas House of Representatives 1898-1902, to Congress 1903-1933 (Democrat). Speaker 1931; U.S. Vice-President and President of the Senate since 1933.

GENERAL ACT, one of the model treaties worked out by the League of Nations to secure peaceful settlement of international disputes. The first chapter deals with conciliation, the second with judicial settlement, the third with arbitration of political disputes where conciliation fails. If no rule is applicable, the arbitration tribunal settles the case by "equity". Twenty-three states are at present bound by this treaty. They include all the members of the British Commonwealth and France.

GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT, an informal agreement based on verbal assurances or the exchange of mere letters without a formal treaty being signed.

GEOPOLITICS, a German school of political doctrine explaining political tendencies and developments by the laws of geography. It says that the policies of every nation are invariably determined by its geographical position and that the necessities dictated by "space" prove more effective in the long run than ethical or ideological factors.

GEORGE VI, King, second son of the late King George V, born December 14, 1895, at Sandringham. Served in the Royal Navy, fought in the battle of Jutland, was made Duke of York in 1920, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Strathmore, on April 26, 1923. On the abdication of his brother, King Edward VIII, he succeeded to the throne on December 10, 1936. The coronation took place at Westminster Abbey on May 12, 1937. King George and Queen Elizabeth, representing the modern and democratic type of royalty, have quickly gained high popularity and re-strengthened the prestige of the Crown after the shocks of the abdication crisis. King George VI is distinguished by a kind and unceremonial behaviour and a high sense of duty. The King and Queen made a seven-week tour of Canada, the United States and Newfoundland in May and June, 1939. King George VI was the first reigning British sovereign to visit America. The King and Queen toured Canada from one end to the other; for the first time in history the King performed royal functions in a Dominion, appearing in the Canadian Parliament, giving the Royal assent to Bills, receiving the U.S. Minister to Canada for the delivery of his credentials, and signing the Canadian-American treaty of commerce. This was a landmark in the constitutional history of the British Empire. Proceeding to the United States, the King and Queen visited President Roosevelt at Washington, were welcomed by the U.S. Congress at the Capitol, inspected the New York World's Fair and were again entertained by President Roosevelt at his country home. During the visit the King laid a wreath at the tomb of George Washington at Arlington. In Canada as well as in the United States the King and Queen were given an

enthusiastic reception by the population. King George and Queen Elizabeth have two daughters, Princess Elizabeth, born April 21, 1926, the heiress-presumptive to the throne, and Princess Margaret Rose, born August 21, 1930.

GERMANY, 210,000 sq. m., population 78,000,000 (including Austria and the Sudetenland but excluding Bohemia and Moravia and the occupied parts of Poland). After the defeat in the World War of 1914-1918 Germany, formerly an empire under the Hohenzollern dynasty, became a republic. Post-war difficulties continued till 1924. Then followed a period of recovery and prosperity for republican Germany, aided by a large inflow of foreign loans and the policy of international understanding conducted by Foreign Minister Stresemann. This period came to an end in 1930 when the great economic crisis opened the road for radicalism, and Hitlerism, harping on the (already substantially reduced) treaty of Versailles, began its advance. For the history of the end of the German republic see articles on > Hindenburg, > Brüning and > Hitler. Germany's history from 1933 to the present war is likewise contained in the article on Hitler with whose personality it has been closely interwoven.

At present Germany has no written constitution. The republican constitution of Weimar has never been formally abolished, but an unwritten constitution has developed along the following lines: All power rests in the *Führer*, or Leader, Adolf Hitler. His title is "Führer and Chancellor of the Reich". His will is the only source of legislation, domestic and foreign policy. He appoints all Ministers and sub-leaders, who in turn nominate leaders for all branches of public, cultural, economic and social life. This is called the leadership principle, and the election of office-holders by members is abhorred as "democracy". Hitler may designate his successor who will have the same absolute power. The *Reichstag*, composed of 855 members (only National-Socialists), still exists, but is convoked only from time to time for the sole purpose of listening to a speech of the *Führer*. None of the members is allowed to speak. The *Reichstag* exerts no legislative power, the laws being made by the Government which is responsible only to the *Führer*. No budget or State account is published and taxation is imposed by the Government in its discretion. The citizens have no say in public affairs. The only authorised party is the > National-Socialist one, the internal organisation of which is likewise absolutist, with Hitler as unlimited leader. There is a nation-wide administrative system of the party with regional leaders, offices, departments, etc., side by side with the State administration and often interfering with it. The utterance of views other than National-Socialist is an offence. There are no civic liberties, no freedom of opinion, speech, association or assembly, no safeguards against arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and killing. Terror exercised by party troops (> SA, > SS), secret police (> Gestapo) and > concentration camps are basic instruments of government. The Nazi State is > totalitarian and enforces its ideas on everybody. It is based on the > "Aryan" racial principle and Jews are

practically outlawed. The churches are disliked by Nazis and subject to restrictions and persecution. (> Niemöller.) Trade unions are forbidden, all workers and employees being compulsorily organised in the Nazi "Labour Front". (> Ley.)

Normally one-quarter of German industrial production was exported. In 1929 exports reached a peak of 13 milliards of marks. In 1933 they fell to 4 milliards. In 1938 exports totalled 5.2 and imports 5.5 milliards of marks; the bid for > autarky and the application of the barter and clearing systems, owing to lack of foreign exchange, hampered re-expansion of foreign trade, with which Germany cannot permanently dispense. Imports consisted mainly of raw materials (3 milliards) and foodstuffs (2 milliards), exports of manufactured articles (4.3 milliards). There has been a shortage of food and raw materials for years. The only important raw material in which Germany is self-sufficient is coal (output 1938: 188 million tons, besides 187 million tons of lignite). Pig iron output was 18.5 million tons but only 22 per cent came from domestic iron ores. Ore imports totalled 24 million tons, Sweden being the principal supplier. Steel output was 23.2 million tons.

One-half of Germany's foreign trade, already insufficient in peace-time to cover normal requirements, has been cut off by war and blockade. (20% of Germany's pre-war foreign trade was with the British Empire and France, 30% other overseas trade.) 15% was with South-Eastern Europe, 0.4% with Russia, the rest with neutral countries to which Germany has retained access provided she can pay for supplies. Gold and foreign exchange were practically zero at the outbreak of war. Germany's national debt, which had been 12 milliards of marks in 1933, rose to 60 milliards before the war.

The general aim of Nazi Germany has been the renewal of German imperialism along former lines, undoing the lost war of 1914-1918. The underlying purpose of Nazi terror has been to make the nation internally strong for war, as in the Nazi theory the collapse of 1918 had been due only to lack of leadership and the decomposing activities of Socialists and Jews. This is not to happen again; hence the forcible removal of all potential opponents and the placing of the nation under iron discipline. Imperialism sails under the flag of > "Lebensraum", living-space, this time, but its objects and ways are much the same as under the empire: domination of East and South-East Europe, the > Berlin-Baghdad line, hegemony in Europe and later in the world.

Basically German imperialism is hampered by the following factors: Germany lacks all essential raw materials for warfare except coal and is unable to produce all her food. Her access to the sea is a narrow one. Her geographical position in the middle of Europe invites what Germans call > "encirclement". No other European Power can be interested in an excessive strengthening of Germany; this makes it difficult for Germany to find reliable partners in an imperialistic campaign. Against such odds Germany can rely only on the notable military talent of her people, but after all other nations have good armies too, particularly in the West. In the present

war in particular Germany's situation is aggravated by the preceding exhaustion of her economic resources by precipitate rearmament, and the morale of the German people is not comparable to that of 1914. The Four-Year Plan destined to make Germany blockade-proof was still in progress when the war broke out, and its actual results had been far behind schedule.

As universal military service was adopted in Germany as late as 1935, Germany had only three fully-trained annual classes of 400,000 each at the outbreak of war. Besides there, were about 2,000,000 men who had had short-term training (eight weeks) in the army or partial training in party troops (SA and SS). Similarly there was a scarcity of thoroughly trained officers. The army is, however, highly mechanised and has a powerful air-arm, estimated at 4,000 first-line aircraft. The German navy numbered 2 battleships, 3 "pocket battleships", 6 cruisers, 31 destroyers and 65 U-boats at the outbreak of war, 4 additional cruisers were nearing completion, 4 more building, besides 4 battleships and 2 aircraft carriers under construction. Losses in the first six months of the war were 1 "pocket battleship", 1 cruiser and 40-50 U-boats.

For the former German colonies which Germany continues to claim, see articles on >Cameroon, >South-West Africa, >Tanganyika and >Togo.

There are two opinions on the policy which should be pursued towards Germany if the war ends with Hitler's defeat and overthrow. The one says: The Germans are by nature militaristic and nationalistic; they love authority, not freedom. They are sure to return to a similar régime and a similar policy, and they will plunge the world into periodical wars if this is not prevented by drastic measures. Germany must be again disarmed and placed under effective international supervision. Quite radical voices even recommend a dissolution of the German Reich into smaller units. The other body of opinion says: This would mean another Versailles and would produce another Hitlerism as the first Versailles has produced the present one. Just treatment of the German people, coupled with the removal of the traditional bearers of the imperialistic, warlike spirit whom the half-hearted revolution of 1918 neglected to remove, and better social and economic organisation will form a better barrage against a repetition of Nazism than any oppressive measures.

GESTAPO. contraction for *Geheime Staatspolizei*, the German Secret Political Police. It was organised immediately after Hitler's advent to power in 1933 to deal with the opponents of Nazism. It soon became the terror of the German population and one of the chief supports of the Nazi régime. Its nationwide secret service crept into all the illegal anti-Nazi organisations and most of them were blown up. The Gestapo has a numerous force of agents all over Germany supervising the behaviour and utterances of the people and making immediate arrests wherever they hear a word of opposition. Chief of the organisation is Heinrich >Himmler, who is also Supreme Commander of the >SS.

GÖBBELS, Dr. Joseph, German Minister of Propaganda, chief

GOLD RESERVES]

propagandist of National-Socialism, third most important man in the National-Socialist Party after Hitler and Göring. Born October 29, 1897, at Rheydt, Rhineland, graduated Ph.D. at Heidelberg in 1920, was a journalist in the Rhineland, joined the National-Socialist Party early, became *Gauleiter* (regional leader) of Berlin in 1926 and was responsible for the expansion of the Party in North Germany while Hitler resided at Munich in the South. Dr. Göbbels belonged to the radical, quasi-socialist wing in the Party. In 1927 he founded the Berlin daily *Der Angriff* (The Attack) which he has edited since. In 1928 he was elected to the Reichstag. In 1929 he was made chief of Party propaganda, and in 1933 Minister of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment in Hitler's Government. His performance in this capacity has been unique. He rapidly organised complete National-Socialist control over press, literature, radio, theatre, cinema, music and all other cultural fields, and built up a propaganda machine of unheard-of size and efficiency. Its domestic task was to popularise National-Socialist policies and to explain away the deficiencies of National-Socialist rule. Dr. Göbbels' propaganda apparatus gained still greater importance when Germany started on her policy of expansion. Skilful methods were developed to introduce and accompany the German actions by press campaigns, to focus the limelight on the points which Germany wished to put in the foreground, to intimidate the adversaries, to play on their nerves by month-long extension of the campaigns and well-schemed gradual increase in their vehemence. It may be said that Germany owed her initial political successes, won in a "war of nerves", as much to Dr. Göbbels' unscrupulous propaganda as to any other factor. Truth has been no consideration in this system. Other methods, backed by large means, were devised for the spreading of Nazism or pro-Nazism abroad, first in German-speaking regions which came later to be absorbed in the Reich, and then in other countries, where kindred movements could be organised, or disguised pro-Nazi organisations formed. Dr. Göbbels writes and broadcasts a great deal himself, and his articles and speeches are marked by unrestrained language, sarcasm and frequently cynicism.

Dr. Göbbels holds the rank of *Reichsleiter* (national leader) in the Party and is president of the *Reichskultkammer*. He has acquired the castle of Schwanenwerder on an island in a lake near Berlin. He has two children. His wife Magda is, while of Christian origin, the adopted daughter of a Jew named Friedländer, which did not hinder Dr. Göbbels from playing a leading part in Nazi anti-Jewish policies. As adviser to Hitler, he is said to have steadily advocated a radical course in domestic as well as foreign policy.

GOLD RESERVES, the amounts in gold held by central banks as an actual or potential cover for the currency and as a reserve for payments abroad. Most of the world's gold is held by the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, considerable amounts are also held by Switzerland and Holland. By September 1939 the Bank of England was holding over £600 millions in gold, the U.S. Federal Reserve Banks had \$12,700 million in gold and

the Bank of France over £400 millions. Germany shows in the Reichsbank return practically no gold; private estimates of a secret gold treasure for the war range from 200 to 500 million marks (£17 to £40 million).

GOLD STANDARD, a currency system under which bank notes are changeable into gold at a fixed rate at any time. There are three forms of it: 1. The full gold standard. The central bank is bound to redeem its notes in gold coin, also to buy and sell gold at a fixed price. 2. The gold bullion standard. No gold coins are in circulation, there is no redemption of notes, but the central bank is bound to buy and sell gold at a fixed rate. (British system 1925-1931.) 3. The gold exchange standard. The central bank does not buy and sell gold, but only drafts in foreign currencies on the gold or gold bullion standard. Free exportation and importation of gold, or free sale of foreign gold exchange, is necessarily linked up with the gold standard.

Owing to the fixed relation to gold, a currency on the gold standard is stable, or more precisely speaking as stable as the worth of gold. The issue of bank notes, i.e. expansion and restriction of credit, is linked up with gold. If the gold standard is abolished, the currency is adrift but may be kept more or less stable by means of intervention in the market, that is, systematic buying and selling with a view to regulating the prices. Given adequate reserves of gold and foreign exchange and restraint from inflation, this may provide for satisfactory stability in the value of money. It has been the British system since 1931. The U.S.A., France, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland are on the gold standard (on the gold bullion standard for all practical purposes as gold coins are almost entirely out of circulation) but have changed it by lowering the quantity of gold represented by the currency unit. This is called "devaluation". The rest of the world is not on the gold standard at all. More recent monetary theories have questioned the value of the gold standard and recommended goldless currency systems instead.

GÖRING, Hermann Wilhelm, German Field-Marshal and Minister, second man in National-Socialism after Hitler. Born January 12, 1893, at Rosenheim, Bavaria, served in the German Air Force in the last war, led the famous Richthofen squadron, left the war as captain, served in civil aviation in Sweden subsequently, married Swedish girl, Karin v. Fock, being then in the air engine business in Germany. Joined Hitler's party in its beginnings, took part in the abortive Munich putsch in November 1923, fled to Italy, came back in 1927, reorganised Nazi storm-troops, was elected to the Reichstag in 1928 and has been its president since 1932. On Hitler's advent to power in the beginning of 1933 Göring was appointed Prussian Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior which placed in his hands the executive power in Prussia, the greatest and most important State of Germany. He carried out a quick Nazification of the police and of the internal administration, and is believed to have had a hand in organising the Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933. He was appointed General and Air Minister, and in this capacity organised the new

G.P.U.]

German Air Arm, first in secret, then overtly. Subsequently he took to economics, was appointed Commissioner of the > Four-Year Plan and for raw materials, developed this position to that of actual economic dictator of Germany, gradually ousting Dr. > Schacht, representative of conservative business quarters. Received the rank of Field-Marshal in February 1938. Was responsible for the expropriation of Jews in 1938. He is Hitler's right-hand man, designated for his possible succession, has accumulated numerous offices in his hands, including, in addition to those already mentioned (all of which he continues to hold), those of Commander-in-Chief of the Air Arm, National Forest Master and National Hunting Master. Married actress Emmy Sonnemann in 1935; a daughter, Edda, was born in 1938. His first wife from Sweden had died in 1931; his magnificent country seat Karinhall is named after her. Göring has become known for his fondness for splendour and luxury. He has always belonged to the radicals in the Nazi Party, except on certain occasions when he recommended temporary caution for merely technical reasons. He coined the slogan "Guns instead of butter," to induce the German people to restrict consumption in favour of rearmament.

G.P.U., initials of the Gossudárstvennoye Politicheskoye Upravlyeniye, Political State Administration, the Soviet Russian Secret Political Police. It was organised after the Communist revolution in 1917 to find out and annihilate the opponents of Communism. It was then known as the *Cheka* from the initials of its original title Chrezvycháynaya Komisia, Extraordinary Commission. The G.P.U. developed special methods to detect opposition against the Communist régime and to supervise the behaviour and utterances of the Russian population. Since the emergence of splits within the Communist Party, G.P.U. activities have also largely been directed against > Stalin's opponents, in particular the actual or alleged followers of > Trotsky. The G.P.U. had a leading share in the Party purges and political trials in 1936 and 1937. Its agents have several times pursued their victims abroad. Forced labour camps in Russia are also in charge of the G.P.U. In 1936 the G.P.U. was incorporated in the Commissariat for Internal Affairs. There are large bodies of special selected G.P.U. troops in Russia for use against possible opposition and for frontier service. (Also > OGPU).

GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, United Kingdom of, 94,277 sq. m., population 47,500,000. The United Kingdom consists of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, the Principality of Wales and Northern Ireland. Except for Northern Ireland, the constituent parts of the United Kingdom are not autonomous but mere historical and partly administrative units. Scotland having a separate legal system. The British Constitution is mainly unwritten and traditional. There are a number of basic laws, unsystematically developed in the course of history and valid to the present day, but they do not form a legislative entity in the sense of a written constitution. The most important laws of that kind are Magna Carta (1215), securing annual Parliaments, basic liberties and

the equal administration of justice; the Petition of Right (1628), establishing the sole tax jurisdiction of Parliament and laying down certain specified liberties of the citizens; the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), securing the liberty of the person and establishing safeguards against arbitrary arrest; the Bill of Rights (1688), resuming the foregoing principles; the Act of Settlement (1701), providing for the Protestant succession to the throne; the Union with Scotland Act (1707); the Union with Ireland Act (1800); partly repealed in 1921; and the Parliament Act (1911), reducing the scope of the Lords' veto. Unwritten constitutional laws are none the less strictly observed.

The throne is hereditary in the House of Windsor; with mixed succession. The monarchy is limited; Government is strictly parliamentary. The Government must have the support of the majority of the > House of Commons, the actually ruling part of the legislature. Laws passed by the Commons are sent up to the > House of Lords which has, however, no veto right on financial laws and only a temporary veto on other laws. The King has a right to veto all Bills, but this right is obsolete for all practical purposes. He acts on the advice of his Ministers who are responsible to Parliament. The Government consists of the Cabinet Ministers, a number of Ministers who are not members of the Cabinet, and a number of Parliamentary Secretaries. At present there is an inner "War Cabinet" of nine members.

The present House of Commons, elected in November 1935 for a five-year term, is composed of 375 Conservatives, 33 Liberal Nationals, 7 National Labourists and 5 Nationals on the Government side, and of 168 Labour members, 19 Liberals, 7 Independents and 1 Communist on the Opposition side. As there is no proportional representation, the distribution of seats does not exactly reflect the actual polling. The vote at the last general election was as follows: Conservatives 10,496,000, Liberal Nationals 866,000, National Labour 340,000, Nationals 97,000, Labour 8,465,000, Liberals 1,433,000, Communists 27,000, Independents 275,000.

The old traditional two-party system (Conservatives and Liberals) no longer exists in its pure and original form; if the small parties are neglected, there are even to-day only two big parties, Labour having taken the place of the Liberals, but in view of the deep programmatic rift between them a switch-over from the Government to the Opposition party is no longer so easy as it used to be. The large Conservative majorities since 1924 have impressed their stamp on British policy. Intermediate Labour Governments were only minority Governments.

British domestic policies are marked by the absence of radicalism and by general agreement on the democratic principles combined with traditionalism. Special articles are to be found in this book on all British parties.

On the relations of Britain with the other members of the > British Commonwealth, see special article on the latter. Commonwealth necessities, Britain's insular position and her

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dependence on sea-borne supplies require the maintenance of superior naval power. It has always been the policy of Britain to have the strongest fleet in the world, and an exception has been admitted only in respect of the other great English-speaking commonwealth. Naval parity of the > United States was acknowledged in the naval agreements of 1922 and 1935. (> British Navy).

Fifty-five per cent. of Britain's overseas trade is transacted with the Commonwealth; next greatest trade partners are the U.S.A. and (in peace-time) Germany.

In foreign policies, Britain is traditionally opposed to any hegemony on the European Continent and has always fought Europe's ambitious despots, from the days of the Spanish Armada through Napoleon to Hitler. Favouring the > balance of power, Britain has of necessity been the opponent of the Power which was strongest in Europe at any given time and has supported the weaker nations against it. The freedom of the small peoples has been a traditional British concern. After the Great War of 1914-1918 Britain cautiously furthered the recovery of Germany as a counterweight to the then established French hegemony. She did not even hinder Hitlerism in its first years, not only on account of the balance of power, but also because conservative quarters regarded Nazism as a useful instrument against Communism, and some of Hitler's demands, from the abolition of political and military discrimination under the Versailles treaty to the incorporation of German-speaking areas in Central Europe, appealed to the outspoken British sense of justice. The emotional element in the conduct of British policies has always been strong, and many of Britain's acts and omissions in the last few years cannot be understood without taking due account of the subjective and sentimental factor on the part of public opinion as well as on that of the leading statesmen.

GREENWOOD, Arthur, M.P., Deputy Leader of the Labour Party and the Opposition in the House of Commons, M.P. for Wakefield since 1932, was Lecturer of Economics at Leeds University, Secretary of the Labour Party Research Institute, held many other commissions related to the economic and social fields, was Minister of Health in the second Macdonald Administration 1929-1931. Greenwood is regarded as one of Labour's strongest personalities and shone as Acting Leader of the Opposition in the historic sessions of Parliament after the outbreak of the present war. Was urged to run in the election of the Leader of the Opposition in November 1939 but refused to stand against his friend > Attlee. Was re-elected Deputy Leader.

GREECE, Kingdom of, 130,000 sq. m., population 6,300,000. Ruler: King George II of the Danish dynasty of Schleswig-Holstein-Gluecksburg-Sonderburg. Capital: Athens. After the two successful Balkan Wars 1912-1913, > Venizelos, outstanding Greek statesman, led Greece into the World War on the Allied side, pushed pro-German King Constantine off the throne. Constantine came back in 1920, waged war against Turkey with a view to conquering the Greek-inhabited parts

of Asia Minor, was crushingly defeated by Kemal > Atatürk, abdicated again in 1922 and died in 1923. The Turkish disaster having shaken the prestige of the monarchy, his son, George II, was forced to abdicate one year later, and Greece became a republic. Years of factional strife followed, until the desire for restoration of the monarchy became prevalent. Venizelos was defeated in the elections of 1932 and 1933, tried abortive uprisings, was exiled in 1935: while the Monarchist, Kondylis, seized the power and organised a plebiscite in favour of the monarchy. King George II came back in April 1935. Venizelos died in Paris in 1936. Kondylis and Tsaldaris, another royalist leader, died, too, and General > Metaxas was made premier in April 1936. He established a dictatorship on August 4, 1936, under the pretext of a "Communist revolt", Parliament was dissolved and the political parties were suppressed. In 1938 General Metaxas was made premier for life.

Germany had obtained control of 35% of Greek foreign trade before the outbreak of the present war. This had made for increased German influence, the more as General Metaxas is a Germanophile. There is, however, a large pro-British party at Athens, headed by the King. Greece was given a British guarantee in April 1939 in view of the importance of Greek naval bases in the Eastern Mediterranean. Old Greek-Turkish enmity has been converted into close friendship since 1930. See map of Italy and the Mediterranean.

On the outbreak of the present war Greece adopted a neutral attitude.

GUILD SOCIALISM, the British variant of > syndicalism. The movement emerged in 1906 under the leadership of Penty and Hobson and advocated a restoration of the mediaeval guild system along modern lines. The trade unions were to be organised as guilds to take over and run their respective industries after nationalisation. This was opposed to State socialism which provided that the State should assume control of industry. In 1915 the National Guilds League was set up and a considerable number of trade unions adhered to the movement. In 1920 the National Guild Council was formed and the movement seemed on its way to success, when it embarked on large-scale building enterprise. A nation-wide Building Guild was organised to erect houses, but it collapsed. This was the end of the movement and the National Guilds League was dissolved in 1925. No guild-socialist movement has existed since, but the ideas of guild socialism have permanently influenced British socialist thought, and the organisation of self-governing industrial bodies under the management or co-management of the trade unions appears to many socialists as the best form of nationalisation.

HABSBURG, the former ruling house of Austria-Hungary. The Habsburgs ruled first as German, then as Austrian Emperors from the 13th century. Charles I who abdicated in November, 1918 was the last Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. He died in 1922 and the legitimists in Austria and Hungary have been claiming the throne for his eldest son, Otto. The latter (27 years old) was in negotiation for his return to Austria when Hitler's annexation of that country intervened. The Succession States have been consistently opposed to a Habsburg restoration. Since the outbreak of the present war, members of the family have been engaged in propaganda in the Allied countries and in America.

HÁCHA, Emil, LL.D., last President of Czechoslovakia, born in 1872, became, after a lawyer's career, president of the Czechoslovak Supreme Administration Court in 1925, and when President Beneš resigned after the Munich agreement in October 1938, Hácha was elected to the office. His attempts to maintain the independence of the rump State failed, and in March 14, 1939, when the German troops were already marching in, he was summoned to Berlin to Herr Hitler, where after trying midnight negotiations and under heavy German threats he signed a declaration placing his country under Germany's "protection". Hitler left him nominally in office as a puppet "State President" of the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia".

HALIFAX, Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, Lord, K.G., British Foreign Secretary, third Viscount, formerly Lord Irwin. Born April 16, 1881, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; Conservative M.P. for the Ripon division of Yorkshire in 1910, major of the Yorkshire Dragoons in France 1915-1917, mentioned in despatches, then Assistant Secretary to the Minister of National Service, in 1922 Colonial Under-secretary and Privy Councillor, 1922-1924 President of the Board of Education, then Minister of Agriculture under Baldwin. In October 1925 he was appointed Viceroy of India and made Lord Irwin, thereby giving up his seat in the Commons. Ruled India during an important and difficult period, furthered the work of the India Commission which arrived under Sir John Simon in 1928. Favoured gradual development of India to Dominion status, returned after completion of his term as Viceroy in 1931, inherited the title of Viscount Halifax in 1932, was successively again President of the Board of Education, War Secretary, Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council: visited Hitler in November 1937 to sound possibilities of agreement with Germany, but no result was reached. On the resignation of Anthony Eden, Lord Halifax was appointed Foreign Secretary on February 25, 1938.

HATAY, Turkish name for the Sandjak of **Alexandretta**.

HENLEIN, Konrad, Sudeten-German politician, born 1898, originally a bank clerk, subsequently a gymnastic instructor, became head of the German gymnastic movement in Czechoslovakia in 1923, organised the Sudeten-German party in 1933,

led the Sudeten-German action which resulted in the breaking-up of Czechoslovakia. He first posed as a Czechoslovak loyalist, then demanded autonomy and finally an \rightarrow anschluss, fled to Germany during the September crisis, was appointed Reich Stateholder and regional party leader (Gauleiter) in the Sudetenland after the anschluss, his party being incorporated in the Nazi party. After the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, Henlein was appointed "Chief of Civil Administration" in the "Protectorate".

HERRIOT, Édouard, French statesman, born July 5, 1872, at Troyes. Became a teacher, then mayor of Lyons, and, in 1912, Senator for the Radical-Socialist Party. In 1916 he was Minister of Public Works under Briand. In 1919 he became a deputy and actively opposed the right-wing *bloc national*, then in power. He paid a visit to Soviet Russia in 1921. In 1924 Herriot led the electoral campaign of the *cartel des gauches* (left-wing bloc), crushed the *bloc national* and became Prime Minister (and Foreign Minister) in succession to Poincaré. He enforced the resignation of President Millerand. His policies were based on close collaboration with Britain under MacDonald. He recognised Soviet Russia and initiated the policy of reconciliation with Germany which led to \rightarrow Locarno subsequently. He encountered, however, domestic difficulties, particularly over the currency fall, and, left without Socialist support, he resigned on April 16, 1925. He was president of the Chamber afterwards, succeeded Briand in July, 1926, as Prime Minister again, but only for two days, and was subsequently Minister of Education in Poincaré's Cabinet of the *Union nationale*, which he quitted in 1928, together with other radical ministers. Until 1926 he had been president of the Radical Party. He has been mayor of Lyons since. Herriot stands on the left wing of the Radical Party in which he continues to play an outstanding part. He has written a number of books among which *Les États-Unis de l'Europe*, demonstrating his Pan-European ideals, and *La vie de Beethoven*, showing his interest in music and German culture, are most significant.

HERTZOG, James Barry Munik, General, former Prime Minister of South Africa. Born 1866 in Wellington, Cape Colony, of a Boer family, educated at Victoria College, Stellenbosch and Amsterdam University. Became a judge in the Orange Free State in 1895, served in the Boer War, voted against peace at Vereeniging, maintained a strongly anti-British attitude afterwards. Became Provincial Minister of Education in 1907, and Minister of Justice in 1910 in Botha's first Union Cabinet; persistently opposed Botha's pro-British policy, left Government in 1912, formed opposition nationalist Party in 1913 with an independent South African republic as goal. Combated the Botha-Smuts policy aiming at the development of South Africa within the British Empire, his original 5 supporters in Parliament growing to 63 in 1924, created a majority for himself through a temporary alliance with the Labour Party, overthrew \rightarrow Smuts and became Prime Minister. While not applying republican policies for the time being, he systematically strengthened the sovereign position of the Union. Merged his

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Nationalist Party with Smuts' moderate South African Party in 1934, the outcome of this reconciliation being the United South African National Party. Hertzog was in office for 15 years; on the outbreak of the present war he advocated South African neutrality, but Parliament defeated his motion by a vote of 80 to 67 on September 5, 1939, whereupon Hertzog resigned and was succeeded as Premier by Smuts. On January 23, 1940 he moved a resolution in the Union Parliament against South Africa's participation in the war. It was defeated by 81 votes to 59. General Hertzog and Dr. > Malan then issued a joint statement advocating a republican government outside the British Empire. Hertzog's following consists exclusively of Afrikaners (Boers), and the united Hertzog-Malan party is said to represent about 75% of the Afrikaans-speaking population in the Union.

HESS, Rudolf, Deputy leader of the German Nazi party with the title of "Deputy of the Leader", also a member of the German Cabinet. Born of German parents in Alexandria, Egypt. On the outbreak of the present war, Hitler designated Hess as his successor in the second rank after Göring.

HIMMLER, Heinrich, German Nazi leader, Chief of the > SS, the Nazi Black Guards, and the > Gestapo; the secret police of the Hitler régime. Responsible for the defence of Nazi dictatorship against any opposition at home. Has regularly accompanied Hitler into newly-conquered countries, the last time into Poland, so as to mop up anti-Nazis. Member of the "Big Six", the German War Council.

HINDENBURG, Field-Marshal Paul von, born 1847, commanded the German armies in the East in the Great War 1914-1917, won great victories over the Russians under the advice of Generals Ludendorff and Hoffmann, became Chief of the General Staff thereafter, but could not avert the defeat of the German armies in the West in 1918. After the war he retired and lived at Hanover. In spite of the lost war Hindenburg remained a legendary figure among the German people, a fact to which his fatherly appearance contributed a great deal. In 1925, he was elected President of the Reich as candidate of the Right, and everybody expected him to prepare the restoration of the monarchy. But Hindenburg ruled in a constitutional manner, for a time with a Socialist Government, until the economic crisis and the rise of Nazism in 1930 rendered parliamentary government impossible. Much advanced in age—he was 83 at that time—the President became a tool in the hands of a reactionary clique of feudal landowners and generals, adopted authoritarian methods, ruled with emergency decrees on the strength of Art. 48 of the German Constitution, and finally carried out a *coup d'état* in Prussia on July 20, 1932, setting aside the last democratic government in Germany. Having refused to appoint > Hitler to the Chancellorship as late as August 1932 and having been the object of bitter personal attack from the Nazi leader, Hindenburg changed his attitude in January 1933 and made Hitler Chancellor of the Reich. In 1934 his health became bad in consequence of his age, and he was a dying man on his estate in East Prussia when Hitler carried out the Blood Bath of June 30, 1934. It

is doubtful whether Hindenburg wrote the telegram backing Hitler's action which was subsequently published, and if so, whether he knew what he was doing. He died shortly after, aged 87, and was given a national mausoleum at Tannenberg, East Prussia, the place of his first victory.

HITLER, Adolf, German dictator, born April 20, 1889, at Braunau, Austria, son of a customs officer, attended the four lower classes of a secondary school at Linz, Austria, a centre of Pan-Germanism at that time, a fact which has strongly influenced Hitler's thought and later career. Went to Vienna thereafter with the intention of becoming a painter, but failed the entrance examination of the Viennese Academy of Arts. Worked as a bricklayer for some time, and later lived in a casual ward in Vienna, earning a small income by painting coloured postcards which he used to sell to visitors in public bars. The wide-spread story that he was a paper-hanger has not been proved. Nor is it true that his actual name is Schicklgruber; his father was born under that name but it was changed to Hitler as early as 1842.

Young Hitler liked to talk politics, voicing pan-German, anti-Habsburg and anti-socialist opinions. In 1911 he went to Munich, Bavaria, where he lived on the occasional sale of little paintings. At the outbreak of war in August 1914 he enrolled as a volunteer in the German army, refusing to join his native Austrian army owing to his hatred for the non-German Habsburg Monarchy. Served as an orderly on the Western Front throughout the war but reached no higher rank than that of lance-corporal. Towards the end of the war he was injured by mustard gas and lost his eyesight for a short time. After the war he returned to Munich where he was employed by the *Reichswehr* (the German post-war army) as a secret agent for the supervision of political meetings. In this capacity he came into contact with a dining-club calling itself the German Labour Party and consisting of six members who held conferences in the back-room of a Munich inn. The founder and leader was a worker named Drexler. Hitler joined the party as number seven and started agitation for its enlargement. The party grew and Hitler became its leader while Drexler was ousted. The name of the organisation was changed into National-Socialist German Labour Party. In 1923 the party ventured a *coup* which proved, however, abortive, as Herr von Kahr, Bavarian Commissioner of State, and the generals of the Munich garrison turned against Hitler, who had counted on their help. Hitler was sentenced to five years' confinement at the fortress of Landsberg, Bavaria, and there he wrote the first volume of his work *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) setting forth his political programme. Released prematurely after eight months with the aid of nationalist authorities, he reconstructed his party and wrote the second volume of *Mein Kampf* in the years 1925-1927.

Mein Kampf: The following is a brief outline of the programmatical work of Hitler. He sees the essence of all life in race and blood. There is a superior race in the world, the Aryan race, sometimes also referred to as the Nordic race, which has subdued peoples of inferior race and built up our present civilisation on the basis of their labour. But the Aryans

have committed the sin of cross-breeding with their inferior subjects, thus spoiling their blood and bringing about gradual physical decline and spiritual decadence. There is a sinister power desirous of the destruction of the Aryan peoples: the Jews. They form a secret world-wide organisation, their principal object being to disintegrate the racial basis of the Aryan peoples by systematically influencing them to the mixing of blood. In this way they hope to create a decadent race of mongrels which will easily succumb to Jewish domination. The stronghold of the Jews is France, which is completely under the control of Jewish financiers and the prey of a constant inflow of Negroes interbreeding with the French population. This is the work of the Jews who strive for the formation of a Mulatto State stretching from the Congo to the Rhine with a view to bastardising the rest of white Europe from this basis. The most outspoken Aryan Power in the world is Germany which is therefore the chief object of Jewish hostility. The Jews have organised the World War of 1914-1918 in order to destroy the German bastion of Aryanism. They instigate France to annihilate Germany completely and at the same time they attack from the other side in the guise of bolshevism. For in the background of bolshevism stand the Jews. Bolshevism, and Marxist socialism in general, is nothing but a trick of the Jews for obtaining world domination. Communists, Socialists, Democrats and Freemasons work for Jewish-Bolshevist aims in all countries, particularly in Germany, and Hitler feels he is called upon to save Germany, and Aryan mankind in general, from this danger.

His programme is to organise a strong nationalist State under National-Socialist leadership, to suppress all other parties, to combat the Jews and to concentrate on racial improvement. National-Socialist Germany will re-arm and undo the treaty of Versailles. All German-speakers must be united within the Reich. But this is not enough: Germany must proceed to an active foreign policy. Pre-war Germany concentrated on naval and colonial expansion, thus arousing Britain's fateful enmity. This mistake must not be repeated. The true task of Germany is to seek expansion on the European continent where she will, in Hitler's opinion, not be in rivalry with Britain. Germany must conquer new soil for her people and this soil lies in the east. South Russia (Ukraine) must be conquered and German peasants must be settled there. But before turning eastward Germany must clear her back in the west. France must be destroyed. For this object Germany needs allies: two nations, Britain and Italy, suggest themselves for this part. Both dislike French hegemony in Europe and both can easily be won over. Britain's friendship will be won by German renunciation of the construction of a new navy and of the return of the colonies, while Italy's price is still lower: simply the abandonment of German South Tyrol. In alliance with Britain and Italy, Germany will crush France. Then Germany will march to the east, smashing rotten bolshevist Russia and taking wide new territory from her. A century hence there will be a German Empire of 250 million people of

first-class race on the continent. Questions of expansion overseas must be postponed until Germany's continental position has been secured. This done, such questions should be reviewed, as "Germany will either be a World Power or she will not be at all."

The way to power: In 1928 the National-Socialist Party polled only 800,000 votes and returned 12 deputies to the *Reichstag*. Its hour came only when the great economic crisis shook Germany in 1930. With the financial backing of large industrialists whom he promised to protect from the rising tide of Communism, Hitler won a spectacular success in the 1930 election, his party being returned with 106 deputies on the basis of a vote of 6,400,000. His enormous propaganda concentrated on the treaty of Versailles, the republican system, the Jews and Marxism. The large Nazi and Communist wings in the *Reichstag* rendered parliamentary government impossible in Germany and a clique of generals and landowners around the old President > Hindenburg established their virtual dictatorship. While the economic depression deepened and made the masses of the German population increasingly susceptible to radicalism, Hitler's following grew from election to election. When he stood against Hindenburg in the presidential election on April 10, 1932, he polled 13,400,000 votes and in the election to the *Reichstag* on July 31, 1932, even 13,700,000 votes. Nevertheless, Hindenburg, who had polled 17,500,000 votes, remained President and refused Hitler's demand of the Chancellorship. The next election on November, 6, 1932, brought a recession in the Nazi vote for the first time, Hitler polling only 11,700,000 votes. His star seemed on the wane. General von Schleicher, who was influential at that time, had been intriguing behind the scenes with a view to using Hitler's movement for the promotion of his own ambitious plans. Now he was made Chancellor and contemplated a *coup d'état* aiming at the elimination of Hitler and the feudal clique around Hindenburg simultaneously. The clique, together with a group of virtually bankrupt steel industrialists who were hoping for financial aid from a Hitler Government, decided to save Hitler and to substitute him for the General whom they suspected of secret Socialism. This decision was taken at a midnight conference at the house of Herr Schroeder, a banker at Cologne, arranged under the auspices of ex-Chancellor von Papen. The landowners and industrialists were mostly adherents of the non-Nazi German Nationalist Party, and hoped Hitler would be nothing but a tool in their hands. There was no difficulty in persuading old Hindenburg to appoint Hitler to the Chancellorship notwithstanding the President's rejection of this idea a few months before. Schleicher was dismissed and a mixed Cabinet of Nazis and Nationalists, with Hitler as Chancellor, was set up on January 30, 1933.

Hitler in power: Hitler's first act was the organisation of the > Reichstag fire. The house of the German Parliament was set on fire by Nazis but the Communists were accused of having done it. Hitler used this as a pretext for arresting great numbers of his opponents and restricting the activities of Communists and Socialists in the following election and for operating

on the slogan that he had saved Germany from an imminent Communist uprising. The Nazi party polled 17,270,000 votes on March 5, 1933, but this was only 44% of the vote, and a majority could be formed only in common with the Nationalists, who had polled 8%. It is noteworthy that Hitler was unable to secure a majority even at this election, which was anything but fair and free, yet the last one in Germany deserving the name. After forcibly excluding the Communist and other opposition deputies, he obtained an Empowering Act from the *Reichstag* and ruled dictatorially with the help of his Secret Police, the > Gestapo, and his party troops, the SA and SS. The last remains of the republican constitution were destroyed. Opponents of Hitler were imprisoned in > concentration camps and great numbers killed, the trade unions were dissolved, all opposition parties were suppressed, and eventually the same fate befell the Nationalist Party which had cherished the illusion that it would be able to control Hitler. While cementing his rule at home Hitler was still cautious in foreign policy. He posed as the saviour of the world from Bolshevism but otherwise pretended peaceful intentions and loyalty to treaties.

The Blood Bath : There was a wing in the Nazi Party which had vague Socialist leanings and urged the realisation of the Socialist items of the party platform. On the other hand the steel industrialists (whose companies had in the meantime been reorganised with Government funds) and the generals pressed on Hitler to drop these items and to concentrate on a policy of rearmament and imperialism. On June 30, 1934, after a conference in Dr. > Krupp's house in Essen, the radical leaders and many of their followers were suddenly arrested and executed. Among them were Captain Roehm, Chief of the > SA, the man to whom Hitler owed most of his success, and other high SA leaders. A number of non-Nazis were killed at the same time, including General von Schleicher, Herr von Kahr (who had defeated the Munich Putsch and was now 75), and various Catholic politicians and officials. Estimates of the total death-roll varied from 300 to 1,100.

On July 25, 1934, Hitler ordered a Nazi uprising in Austria with whose affairs he had just promised not to interfere. The uprising resulted in the assassination of the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss and many other casualties, but was put down by the Austrian Government, while Mussolini mobilised the Italian army with a view to preventing armed intervention by Germany. Hitler subsequently washed his hands of this insurrection. A few days later, on August 2, 1934, President Hindenburg died, and Hitler united the offices of President and Chancellor. On this and other occasions he ordered so-called plebiscites on his policy. No opposition was allowed and, intimidation extensively employed. The result was invariably a 99.5% vote in Hitler's favour. Similar methods were applied in conducting "elections" to the *Reichstag* in which only the Nazi Party was allowed to stand.

Expansion : Rearmament was now carried on at top speed and in March 1935 conscription was re-adopted in Germany in defiance of the treaty of Versailles. Nobody hindered it. In September 1935 anti-Jewish laws were enacted at Nuremberg.

The Jews had been the object of persecution from the beginning of Nazi rule; they had been boycotted, ousted from all professions, robbed of their property, and their complete expulsion was in progress. The anti-Jewish drive was intensified henceforward. External action started with the re-occupation of the Rhineland on March 7, 1936, in violation of the treaty of Locarno. Hitler promised not to fortify the re-occupied area and declared he had no territorial demands to make in Europe. The era of "surprises", he said, was ended.

Thanks to rearmament and an unlimited spending policy, Hitler succeeded in ending unemployment in Germany. The march into adventure started in 1938. Conservative generals who had opposed this course were dismissed in an army purge in February 1938. On February 12 the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg was ordered to Hitler's residence at Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, and forced under threats to sign an agreement opening up the way for Nazism in Austria, and Austria was occupied and annexed on March 12, 1938. Hitler proclaimed that he had no further territorial demands to make in Europe. He authorised his right-hand man > Göring to declare in his name to the British Government that he had no intention of attacking > Czechoslovakia. But immediately after the seizure of Austria a vehement campaign against Czechoslovakia was started in Germany, the Sudeten-German movement of > Henlein was used to stir up disorder in that country and in September Hitler demanded the cession of the Sudetenland under threat of war. He did not fail to declare on September 26, 1938: "This is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe. I have assured Mr. Chamberlain and I emphasise it now that when this problem is solved Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe. . . . We do not want any Czechs. . . . I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more." He even offered a guarantee for the remaining Czechoslovak State, and the Sudetenland was ceded to Germany by the > Munich agreement. The German troops marched into the rest of Czechoslovakia, summoned the Czech Government to sign an armistice, and the rest of Czechoslovakia was annexed. German troops marched in and the country was occupied. The annexation of the > Memel territory followed a few days later. Then once more Hitler declared that he had no further territorial demands in Europe to make, and that the "process of reparation" was now ended.

Poland: A ten-year pact of non-aggression had been concluded by Hitler with Poland as early as 1934 and Hitler liked to refer to his "act of peace". He allowed Poland to be a partner in the first share-out of Czechoslovakia. Immediately after the rape of the rest of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, however, a violent German campaign was loosed against Poland. Hitler demanded the return of Danzig and the Corridor. Poland, backed by Anglo-French guarantees against aggression, refused these demands but offered negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Hitler ordered the occupation of Danzig by disguised Nazi troops in August 1939 and sprang a surprise on August 23 by the announcement of a pact with Soviet Russia, his ex-arch-enemy. This had the effect of blowing up the Anti-

HITLER YOUTH]

Comintern Pact, Italy, Japan, Spain and Hungary being deeply shocked, but Hitler hoped the Western Powers would now go back on their pledges to Poland. When the British Ambassador told him on August 23 that Britain would fulfil her obligations to Poland in all events and asked him to think of the responsibility for war, Hitler replied: "I am 50; I prefer war now to when I shall be 55 or 60." On August 29, Poland was asked to send a plenipotentiary to Berlin with powers to sign any agreement which should be laid before him. Poland refused to accept this repetition of the method applied in the cases of Schuschnigg and Hácha. On August 30 a German ultimatum regarding Danzig and the Corridor was handed to the Polish Ambassador but immediately afterwards Hitler declared that Poland had refused it, whilst the Polish Government had not even received it at that time. On September 1, 1939, Hitler annexed Danzig and invaded Poland: on September 3 Great Britain and France declared war on Germany in fulfilment of their pledges to Poland.

A survey of Hitler's acts reveals the continuous application of the technique of promising everything in the most emphatic terms so as to gain time and to lull opponents, and of breaking every promise as soon as he finds it opportune to do so. Reference to the alleged oppression of German minorities has likewise been a recurrent item.

Hitler's ideas do not contain anything fundamentally new. His general programme is drawn from that of earlier Pan-Germanism with which he was imbued in his youth, his theory of expansion in the east is a renewal of Ludendorff's policy at Brest-Litovsk, and his movement can readily be identified as a continuation of old German imperialism and militarism. Developments have, however, taken a course quite different from that foreshadowed in *Mein Kampf*. The idea of a common German-Anglo-Italian war against isolated France with a subsequent military walk-over in Russia has been supplanted by the hard fact of an Anglo-French war against Germany. Soviet Russia, which he swore to destroy, has become his partner in the partition of Poland and shifted her frontier deeper into Europe with his help.

HITLER YOUTH, compulsory organisation for all young Germans from 14 to 21 years. The Hitler Youth is a branch of the Nazi Party. Its members wear brown uniform with a dagger and receive party and military training. The idea is to see all young Germans pass through this organisation so as to be imbued with Nazism. Children from 10 to 14 pass through a preparatory stage, the Young Folk. The opposite number of the Hitler Youth for girls is the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, German Girls' Federation.

HOARE, Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel, British statesman, 2nd Baronet. Born February 24, 1880, educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford, married a daughter of Earl Beauchamp, started his career at the Colonial Office, served in the Great War 1914-1918, reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, was mentioned in despatches, received high British and Allied decorations. Was Air Secretary 1922-1929, Secretary for India 1931-1935, winning high merits in connection with the Round Table Conference and the India

Bill. In 1935 he became Foreign Secretary, but had to resign in November of the same year owing to public indignation at his proposals for a settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, known as the Hoare-Laval plan. This plan provided for large territorial concessions to Italy in Abyssinia, and a good deal of Italian control over the rest of the country, but it has been claimed that it would have preserved Abyssinia's national existence, at least for some time, and prevented Italy's alienation from the Western Powers. Sir Samuel was subsequently First Lord of the Admiralty, and Home Secretary from 1937 to 1939. Has been M.P. for Chelsea since 1910. Prison reform (he also advocates the abolition of flogging) and the Prevention of Violence Bill against the I.R.A. have been features of his policy at the Home Office. On the outbreak of the present war Sir Samuel was appointed Lord Privy Seal and a member of the War Cabinet.

HODŽA, Milan, LL.D., Czechoslovak politician, born 1878, a Slovak; represented Slovaks in the Hungarian Parliament, became Czechoslovak Minister of Co-ordination in 1919, held the offices of Minister of Education and of Agriculture subsequently and became Prime Minister in 1935. Belonged to the democratic wing of the Agrarian Party, stood for Czechoslovak union, supported President Beneš, was anglophilic. Favoured plans of economic co-operation among the Danube States, at one time also advocated a triangle Prague-Vienna-Budapest. Resigned during the September crisis, 1938, went to Switzerland. After the outbreak of the present war Hodža went to Paris to work in the movement for Czechoslovak freedom.

HOHENZOLLERN, the former ruling dynasty in Germany, deposed in 1918. Ex-Emperor William II, the last ruler, has lived in Holland since. The house aspired to the throne during the whole duration of the German republic, and such aspirations seem to continue although Nazism is opposed to a restoration of monarchy. Possible candidates are the Crown Prince, William's son, and the second of the Crown Prince's young sons, Prince Louis Ferdinand. The elder son, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, violated the laws of the house of Hohenzollern by marrying a lady of unequal birth, Fräulein von Salvati, and had to renounce his right to succession.

HOLLAND, official title, Kingdom of the Netherlands, 12,500 sq. m., population 8,700,000, capital The Hague. Queen Wilhelmina, born 1880, ascended the throne in 1890. The Netherlands, commonly referred to as "Holland" (which covers, properly speaking, only two of their provinces), have always pursued a policy of neutrality. In domestic politics conservative but democratic church parties, both Catholic and Protestant, prevail. Strongest is the Roman Catholic State Party (leader Dr. Verschuur), represented by 31 out of the 100 deputies in the Lower Chamber; the Anti-Revolutionary or Calvinist Party (17 deputies, leader Dr. Colijn, often Premier) and the Christian Historical Party (8 deputies, leader Jonkheer de Geer) are its Protestant equivalents. Left-wing parties are the Social-Democrats, moderate-Socialists with the usual Labour programme (23 deputies, leader K. Vortink) the Liberal (4 deputies, leader Professor Telders), the slightly more radical

HOME RULE]

Liberal Democrats (6 deputies, leader Dr. Slingenbergh) and the Communists (3 deputies). The National Socialists under > Mussert, hold 4 seats in the Lower Chamber. Popular opinion in Holland, a country of liberal traditions, is anti-Nazi, but sympathy with the closely-related German people exists, side by side with a similar feeling towards England. German Nazism aspires to the incorporation of Holland in Greater Germany, describing the Dutch as "separatist Lower Germans" and their language as a German dialect. Holland is a very rich country with agricultural surpluses, a most valuable colonial empire (Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Dutch Guiana, Curaçao, totalling 788,000 sq. m.) and a large gold reserve which, together with her strategic position, facing the British coast and inviting the out-flanking of France via Belgium, provides more realistic grounds for Nazi aspirations. It has been a traditional policy of Britain not to admit an invasion of the Netherlands. The colonial empire might become, it is feared, the object of Japanese aspirations one day, and British help is hoped for in this event. Radical > Flemish nationalists in Belgium advocate reunion of Flanders and Holland in a "Dietsch" State; they are not encouraged by the Dutch Government. The Dutch army looked upon as a very good force, numbers 600,000 trained reserves, and there is an appreciable navy. Flooding plays a great part in the defence system. Since the outbreak of the present war Holland has been on the alert against a possible German invasion aimed at using Holland as a naval and air base against Britain.

HOME RULE, slogan of the former Irish movement for self-government. (> Ireland.) Used as a synonym for all sorts of national or minority autonomy since.

HOOVER, Herbert Clark, American statesman and ex-President, born in 1874 at West Branch, Iowa, as son of a blacksmith, was left an orphan in childhood, brought up by relatives, became a mining engineer in 1895, worked in all five continents till 1914, was in Europe at the outbreak of the first World War, became chairman of the American Relief Committee in London, subsequently head of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, U.S. Food Administrator 1917-1919, member of the War Council. After the war he was head of the American Relief Committee for Central Europe, organised first supplies to ex-blockaded countries. Was U.S. Secretary for Commerce 1921-1928 and in this capacity his name became connected with the policy and period of "prosperity" 1925-1929. In the last-named year, Hoover was elected President of the U.S. as candidate of the > Republican Party. The subsequent great slump undid his work, however, and he was succeeded by the Democrat, > Roosevelt, in 1933. Hoover toured Europe in 1937, visited also Nazi Germany, advocated isolationism in America, but condemned Nazism at the outbreak of the present war.

HORE-BELISHA, Rt. Hon. Leslie, M.P., British politician, born in 1895, the son of a London stockbroker. He was educated at Clifton College, on the Continent and at St. John's College, Oxford, and served in the Great War, reaching the rank of Major. In 1923 he won the Liberal seat for the Devonport

division of Plymouth, and has held it since. In 1931 he joined the National-Liberals. Became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in 1931. Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1932, was Minister of Transport from 1934 to 1937, did a great deal of organising and reform work in this capacity, introduced the "Belisha beacon". Was made a Privy Councillor in 1935. In May, 1937, he was appointed Secretary of State for War. At the War Office he proved a keen organiser, introduced more efficient methods of recruiting, created the mechanized British Army which took the field in September 1939, effected sweeping changes in the high command, and furthered the introduction of conscription. From September 3, 1939, he was a member of the War Cabinet. On January 5, 1940, he was asked by the Prime Minister to leave the War Office for the Board of Trade. Hore-Belisha resigned but refused to accept any other post. It was rumoured that his dismissal was the result of opposition by high officers to his democratic reforms in the army, in particular to the promotion of officers from the ranks. The Prime Minister denied these rumours, and while declaring that Government would be impossible if a Premier had to give all his reasons for changes, he stated that "difficulties arising out of the very great qualities of Mr. Hore-Belisha" had made a change desirable. Hore-Belisha himself as well as the leaders of the Opposition were reticent on the matter, and the debate aroused by the dismissal soon ebbed.

HORST WESSEL SONG, the Nazi Party anthem, made second National Anthem in Germany, written by Horst Wessel, a young Nazi who was killed in a row with Communists in 1930. (According to the Nazis it was a political encounter: according to the Communists, a dispute over a prostitute.). The air was taken from a song of the Communist party which in turn had borrowed it from a Salvation Army hymn.

HORTHY DE NÁGYBANYA, Nicholas, Hungarian Admiral and Regent, born 1868, A.D.C. to the Austrian Emperor in 1913, Austrian cruiser squadron commander in the Great War of 1914-1918, fought the British in the Otranto straits, became Vice-Admiral in command of the Austrian fleet in 1918. Organised a White Army against the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, defeated the Communists and assumed the title of "Administrator of the Realm" in 1920. He twice refused (the second time by armed force) ex-Emperor Charles of Austria who came to claim back the Hungarian throne. In foreign policy, Horthy has stood for revisionism, fostered friendship with Italy and Germany, obtained Southern Slovakia in October 1938, and Sub-Carpathian Russia in March 1939. Nevertheless, Horthy has been trying to stem the Nazification of Hungary, and adopted a neutral attitude at the outbreak of the present war.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, the Lower House of the British Parliament, and virtually the ruling one since the Lords' veto was greatly modified in 1911. The House of Commons has 615 members elected by adult male and female suffrage. England has 492 members, Wales 36, Scotland 74 and Northern Ireland 13. The former 92 members for Southern Ireland were withdrawn when the Irish Free State (now Eire) was set

HOUSE OF LORDS]

up. Clergymen of the Church of England, ministers of the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church are ineligible as members, as are certain Government officials, Sheriffs, and Government contractors. The House of Commons is elected for a maximum period of five years but earlier dissolution is possible. Members of the House (adding the initials M.P. to their names) receive a salary of £600 a year and railway travelling facilities. The chairman of the House of Commons is called the Speaker.

HOUSE OF LORDS, the Upper House of the British Parliament, composed of the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal. The Archbishops and 24 English bishops constitute the Lords Spiritual, while the Lords Temporal consist of the Royal Dukes, the Dukes and all Lords ranging from Marquess to Baron in so far as they are peers of the United Kingdom. The seats are hereditary in the United Kingdom peerage. Besides, there are in the House 28 non-hereditary Irish peers elected for life, 16 Scottish peers elected for duration of Parliament, and 7 Law Lords. The full membership of the House is about 740, but there are a few vacancies. A regular meeting of the House of Lords is seldom attended by more than 50 members. In earlier times the House of Lords had the right to veto Bills passed by the House of Commons. This right was greatly restricted by the Parliament Act, 1911. Now, if a Money Bill is not passed unamended by the House of Lords within a month, it is nevertheless enacted upon the Royal Assent being signified. Any other Public Bill, vetoed by the Lords becomes law if it is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, provided two years lapse in the meantime. Passing a Bill with amendments by the House of Lords is tantamount to rejection, unless the House of Commons approves the amendments. The Act does not apply to Bills extending the maximum duration of Parliament (five years). The House of Lords is presided over by the Lord Chancellor, a member of the Government. Three Cabinet Ministers must be Lords. The House of Lords also sits as the highest Court of Law in the country.

HOUSING POLICY, the encouragement of the building of dwelling-houses in general and the replacement of slums by sounder dwellings in particular. More than 3,500,000 houses have been built in England and Wales since 1919, i.e., about 30% of all existing houses. One-half of the new houses were built with subsidies from the Government and other public bodies. Important stages of housing policy have been: the Addison Act of 1919 (providing dwellings for returning soldiers—"homes for heroes"), the Chamberlain Act of 1923, the Wheatley Act of 1924, the Slum-Clearance Act of 1930 and its extension by the Housing Acts of 1933 and 1936. By the latter Acts the object of promoting the erection of the greatest possible number of houses was supplanted by that of assisting slum-clearance through local authorities. An anti-slum campaign was started in 1933 and a first five-year plan established for slum-clearance, providing for 284,000 slum dwellings to be cleared and 298,000 new dwellings to be erected, re-housing 1,307,000 people. By 1938, 169,000 houses had been demolished under that plan.

and 800,000 people re-housed. The plan has since been extended to cover 430,000 slum dwellings. The act of 1935 was aimed against overcrowding. A minimum standard of accommodation was set up, and the local authorities were made responsible for enforcing this standard, providing suitable alternative accommodation. As soon as practicable, it was to be made an offence to infringe this standard. Contributions are paid by the Exchequer, the local authorities giving one-half of the Exchequer's grant. The idea is that private building enterprise should house the classes who can pay economic rents while the authorities are to house the neediest with the help of subsidies. The total annual burden accrued so far by the housing schemes is £17,000,000. The subsidies are paid over terms varying from 20 to 40 years. Differential renting was introduced in 1935. The needy are to be housed in accordance with the size of their families, regardless of their paying capacity, and the rents to be fixed in proportion to their income. Fifty local authorities adopted differential renting schemes. Leeds, formerly notorious for its slums, has now the most advanced housing schemes.

In the U.S.A., housing has been an important part of the > New Deal. The National Housing Act of 1934 provided for the establishment of the Federal Housing Administration which insures, under a Federal guarantee, loans made by lending institutions for repairing and modernising houses, and long-term mortgage loans for house construction. Business amounting to \$2,400,000,000 was transacted up to December 31, 1938. The function of the FHA is only that of an insurer, while actual loans are made, apart from private institutions, by the U.S. Housing Authority, organised under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937, and authorised to issue \$500,000,000 in bonds, guaranteed by the U.S. Out of this fund the Authority makes loans (up to 10 per cent. of the total cost) or grants (up to 40 per cent.) to local authorities for the purpose of financing low-cost housing projects. Housing facilities are extended only to families whose income does not exceed five times the rent. 160,000 homes for the needy have been constructed so far.

HULL, Cordell, United States Secretary of State (Foreign Minister) born 1871 in Tennessee. Became a lawyer and judge, served as captain in the Cuban war of 1898, was Democratic Representative in Congress from 1907 to 1921 and from 1923 to 1931, and Senator for Tennessee State from 1931 to 1937. Resigned Senatorship to accept appointment as Secretary of State in President > Roosevelt's Cabinet. Mr. Hull was chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1921 to 1924. He is a keen supporter of Mr. Roosevelt's policy and an opponent of American isolationism.

HUNGARY, 40,000 sq. m., population 10,000,000, capital Budapest. Formerly one-half of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Hungary became independent after the Great War of 1914-1918, but lost 75% of her territory and 60% of her population to her neighbours. Slovakia, in the north, was taken by Czechoslovakia, Transylvania in the east by Rumania, Croatia and

other areas in the south by Yugoslavia, and Burgenland in the west by Austria. While all these regions were prevailingly inhabited by non-Hungarian populations, considerable Hungarian minorities were included (1,480,000 in Rumania, 500,000 in Yugoslavia, formerly also 700,000 in Czechoslovakia) and Hungary has not ceased to claim revision. After a short period of Communist dictatorship under Béla Kun in 1919, Admiral. > Horthy seized the power and has ruled since as Regent. Constitutionally Hungary is a kingdom, but the throne is vacant. The question of the return of the > Habsburgs has been left open. The dominant tendency in Hungarian policies, re-acquisition of lost areas (not necessarily limited to the regions inhabited by Hungarians), caused the country to side with Germany. When Czechoslovakia was partitioned first in September 1938, Hungary obtained a large part of Slovakia, and at the second partition in March 1939 the province of Subcarpathic Russia, with a prevailingly Ruthenian population. Now Hungary has a common-border with Russia. Despite many declarations of friendship with Germany, Hungary (whose friendship with Italy is an important factor) has remained neutral in the present war so far. British-Hungarian relations have always been good.

The régime in Hungary is moderately authoritarian, based on a Government-controlled National Union Party (102 deputies out of 262). But there is a certain amount of freedom for other parties, such as the Socialists (11 deputies), the independent Agrarian Party (smallholders under Tibor Eckhardt with 22 deputies) and the United Christian Party (15 deputies, pro-Habsburg). As many as 56 deputies are non-partisan, but government supporters for all practical purposes. There is an aristocratic Upper House. The landed aristocracy is the actual ruling class and the latifundial land system is one of Hungary's great problems.

Germany has sought to bring Hungary under her full control, but complete Nazification seems unpopular. To please Germany, Hungary adopted, though with visible reluctance, moderate anti-Jewish laws in 1938. The Hungarian Nazis call themselves the Arrow Cross Party.

HYDE, Douglas, LL.D., D.Litt., President of Eire (Ireland). Born 1860 at Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, became Professor of languages at the University of New Brunswick, Canada, returned to Ireland, founded the Gaelic League in 1893 to work for the preservation and revival of the Irish language. Wrote many books on and in this language, among them a Literary History of Ireland, edited collections of old and new Irish poetry, used the pseudonym An Craoibhin Aoibhinn (the delightful little branch meaning Ireland). In 1909 Hyde was appointed Professor of Modern Irish at Dublin University College. He continued his work for Gaelic revival after the establishment of the Irish Free State. When a non-party candidate was sought for the newly-created presidency of Eire in 1938, Hyde was offered this post, and he was unanimously elected on May 4, 1938. President Hyde is a Protestant.

IBN SAUD (pronounced Sa'ood) King of > Saudi Arabia, by his full name Abdul Aziz ibn Abdur Rahman el Faisal es Saud. Born in 1880 at Er Riyadh, Nejd, of a Wahhabi family formerly ruling there, was exiled in his childhood in the course of a throne-dispute, grew up in South Arabia, set out in 1901 with a force of only 200 men to reconquer the throne of his ancestors, captured Er Riyadh by a night raid, ousted the rival Rashidi dynasty, resisted Rashid-supporting Turks. Ruled virtually independently, favoured nationalism with a view to overcoming clan and tribal feelings, fostered development from pastoral life to agriculture. In 1913 he drove the Turks out of Eastern Arabia. In the World War of 1914-1918 his sympathies were pro-British and anti-Turkish, but his main concern was to settle his accounts with the re-appeared Rashidis and he gave little active support to the British. In 1918, his rivalry turned against King Hussein of Hedjaz. Britain supported Hussein who had actively helped the British in the war, but despite British warnings, Ibn Saud attacked and defeated Hussein's forces in 1919. The next years were filled with gradual expansion in the border districts of Central Arabia, and in 1924, after unsuccessful British mediation, he set out for the conquest of Hedjaz. Mecca was seized on December 24, 1924, and the conquest finished in 1925. King Hussein abdicated and fled abroad, while Ibn Saud proclaimed himself King of Hedjaz on January 8, 1926. In 1927 he assumed the title of "King of Nejd" instead of the former title of Sultan. A treaty was concluded with Britain at Jeddah in 1927. Union of Hedjaz and Nejd was proclaimed in 1932 under the name of > Saudi Arabia with Ibn Saud as King.

Ibn Saud is probably the strongest personality in the Islamic world of to-day. He has strengthened the central power in Arabia and established a degree of security and order not known there before. Modernisation has been limited to the army and the adoption of motor transport on desert tracks, otherwise the King's reform policy has necessarily been a cautious one in the country of the fanatic Islamic sect of the Wahhabis of which he is the head. His ultimate aims seem to be Panarabie, with himself as leader, and he aspires to the Caliphate. The dispute with Italian-backed Yemen was settled by a treaty of friendship, but smoulders on. Friendship with Britain is a principle of Saudian policy, highly appreciated and reciprocated by Britain.

IMPERIALISM, (a) in the more narrow sense, relating only to the British Empire, a tendency towards strengthening the connection between the various parts of the British Commonwealth, and towards thinking politically in terms of the Empire as a whole. Up till 1918 also a desire to extend the Empire by fresh additions.

(b) in the broader sense, a general tendency to build up great empires through conquest. In this sense, the word has a derogatory ring. Modern imperialism began in the 'eighties, and the clash of rival imperialisms was responsible for the Great War 1914-1918. Particularly vehement has been the imperialism of countries which rose to national unity,

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE]

industrial and military power comparatively late (such as Germany, Italy and Japan) and found that other, elder Powers had meanwhile divided the world among themselves. This drove them to attack the spheres of such elder Powers, or such parts of the world as had not yet been divided up (Japan in China since 1932, Italy in Abyssinia in 1935), or to swallow up smaller nations in their neighbourhood, claiming their countries as > "Lebensraum" or living-space (Germany in East Europe since 1938). Hobson (1910) demonstrated the connection of imperialism with economic interests, and > Lenin (1915) set up a Marxist theory to the effect that imperialism is the work of a number of powerful capitalists and financiers who compete in securing foreign markets and sources of raw materials, and send their peoples to war for the profits they hope to derive from their economic Empires. While the economic background of imperialism is evident enough, doubts have been raised as to whether these interests constitute the single cause of imperialism and war. Other theories point to the part played by nationalism, the ambition of political leaders and the desire to spread or defend certain ideologies.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE, the granting of lower tariff duties on Empire products. (> Ottawa Agreements.)

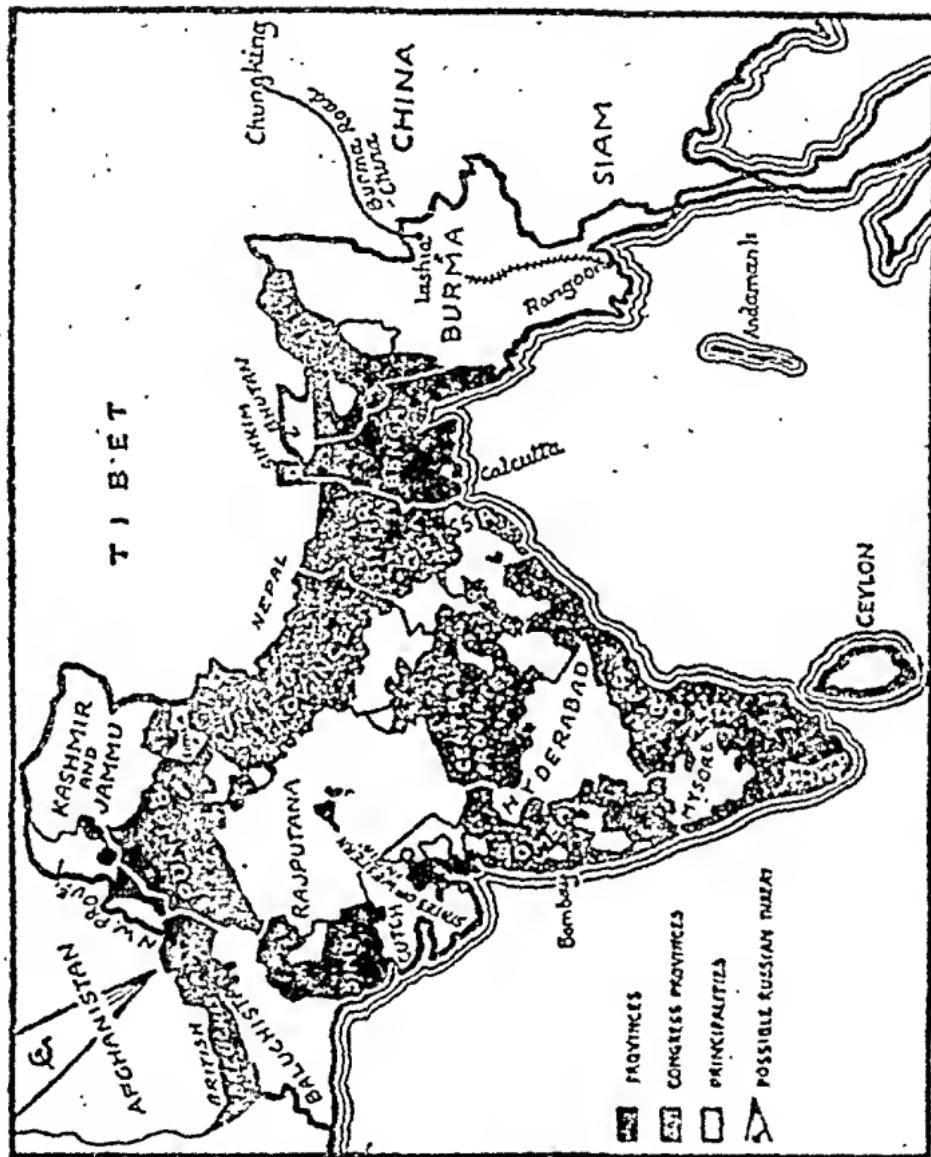
IM.R.O., Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, > Macedonia.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, a small semi-radical group in British Labour with an essentially Marxist programme. It has for a long time stood half-way between the Labour Party and Communism. It rejects Nazism and Communism but opposes the present war. In the 1935 election the party obtained 140,000 votes and 4 seats in the House of Commons. Leaders are J. Maxton, A. Fearn Brockway, J. MacGovern and G. Buchanan.

INDIA. Empire of, member of the British Commonwealth, 1,805,680 sq. m., population 375,000,000. The King of Great Britain is likewise Emperor of India. Two parts of India must be distinguished: British India (1,318,346 sq. m., 310 million inhabitants) subject to British law and administration, and the Indian States (490,000 sq. m., 65 million inhabitants) which have their own laws and administration under British protectorate.

In 1917 preparations began for a new Constitution for India, the British Parliament laying down on August 20 the principle of "progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire". This resulted in the Government of India Act, 1919, which broadened the rights of the Indian Councils which had existed since 1909, widened the franchise and reorganised the Provinces. Indian nationalists were, however, dissatisfied, and a period of great unrest followed. > Gandhi took the lead of the nationalist movement. After prolonged disorders, the Simon Commission was sent to India in 1928 to investigate the situation and to make proposals for a solution. After its return in 1930 the Round Table Conference was called to London and attended by the moderate nationalists, Gandhi and the Indian Princes, but boycotted by the radicals under > Nehru. It lasted from November 12, 1930, to January 20, 1931. Talks were continued

INDIA



in India, and eventually the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted by the British Parliament, marking further, though limited, progress on India's way to self-government. This Act is now the Indian Constitution. It consists of 478 sections and 16 schedules, and its outline is as follows:

Central Government: The King-Emperor is represented by the Viceroy and Governor-General (at present the Marquess of Linlithgow, appointed on April 18, 1936), whose term of office is customarily five years. The Viceroy is assisted by an Executive Council whose members are appointed by the Crown. They act as heads of the various Government Departments and are generally referred to as Indian Ministers. At present three members are British and three Indian. The Governor-General is in charge of external relations. The Federal Legislature, whose powers are limited for the time being, consists of the Legislative Assembly (Lower House) and the Council of State (the Upper House). The Legislative Assembly, set up in 1921, has 141 members of whom 105 are elected, the remainder appointed. The Council of State has 58 members of whom 32 are elected. The term of the Assembly is three years, that of the Council five, but the Governor-General may shorten or lengthen these periods. The Assembly is elected on the basis of a greatly limited franchise, requiring rather a high property qualification or a special standard of intellectual attainment, and in point of fact the electorate comprises only about 5% of the population. The Governor-General, with the assent of the King-Emperor (signified after the proposed enactments have been laid before both Houses of the British Parliament) may enact measures essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof against the wish of the Legislature. The Executive Council is not responsible to the Federal Legislature.

Provincial Government: In accordance with the designated federal structure of India, internal administration is exercised chiefly by the Provincial Governments. In this field a measure of responsible government has already been attained. There are, eleven "Governor's Provinces" in British India, viz. Bengal, Madras, Punjab, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Sind and the North-western Frontier Province. Governor's Provinces have elected Provincial Legislatures; the franchise is limited by qualifications, but is broader than that for the central legislature. The total electorate is about 12% of the population.

The Governors of the Provinces choose their own Ministers, selecting those who are likely to have the support of the Provincial Legislature. The Ministers are responsible to the Provincial Legislature, and the Governors accept their advice, except in certain cases. Where the Governors are empowered to act at their discretion, they are subject to direction by the Viceroy. Bills passed by the Provincial Legislature may be assented to or vetoed by the Governor, or referred to the Viceroy for consideration. If it is considered necessary for the prevention of any grave menace to peace and tranquillity, the Governors may enact laws.

Indian States: The control exercised by the Central Government over the numerous Indian States varies in degree. In general, the States have their own administrations, their inhabitants are subjects of their rulers and the States are under the suzerainty of the King-Emperor. The rulers have, however, British advisers and the Central Government may intervene in case of misgovernment or if internal peace is threatened. There are a great variety of Indian principalities, ranging from large States with many millions of inhabitants and a highly developed administration to scores of petty States of a few square miles with patriarchal rule. The Princes assemble in the Chamber of Princes which deals with matters relating to them. Their attitude towards Britain is very loyal.

Federation: The Government of India Act, 1935, provides for establishment of a Federation. The Federation is to consist of the Provinces and those States which accede to it. On its constitution the Viceroy will have a Council of Ministers responsible to the Federal Legislature and advising him in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is required to exercise them in his discretion. There has been delay in the organisation of the Federation, owing primarily to opposition on the part of the Princes who have been afraid of unfavourable effects on their position. The majority of the Princes have declared their readiness to accede to Federation and to adopt more advanced methods of government, but the outbreak of war in September 1939 has caused another postponement of the matter.

Indian National Congress: The Indian National Congress, now the driving power in Indian nationalism, was founded by an Englishman, Allan O. Hume, a retired Anglo-Indian civil servant who organised the Congress as early as 1885. The programme was to form one nation out of the manifold groups inhabiting India and to develop something like Dominion status. The split between moderate and radical nationalists which has accompanied the life of the Congress ever since, made itself felt even in the beginnings, and the Congress broke up into two parties. In 1916 they re-united and the radicals took control. Since 1920 > Gandhi has been the virtual leader of the Congress, though with varying degrees of radicalism. In 1932 the Government suppressed the Congress. When the civil disobedience campaign was stopped in 1934, the Congress became legal again. There is a conservative wing under Gandhi and a Socialist wing under > Nehru in the Congress.

The 1935 Constitution has been steadfastly rejected by both factions of the Congress, but the right-wingers recommended assumption of office in the Provincial Legislatures with a view to counteracting the Constitution, while the left-wingers under Nehru wished to combat it by obstruction. In the provincial elections in 1937 the Congress Party gained the majority in 6 of the 11 Provinces. Eventually Congress Governments assumed office in these Provinces, and despite certain conflicts experiences have not been unsatisfactory.

The Congress meets every year. Nehru was President in 1936 and 1937, and was succeeded by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1938 and Dr. Rajendra Prasad in 1939. Gandhi is still regarded as the most influential man in the Congress though he

is not even a member. An All-India Congress Committee and a Working Committee act while Congress is not in session. The Congress programme provides for independence ("purna swaraj") for India, democratic federation, political equality of all castes, races, religions and classes, responsible government, in short a democratic programme along European lines. The Congress is essentially a Hindu movement, though it has a number of Moslem members, and the leadership is prevailingly in Brahman hands. The 1940 President, however, is a Moslem, M. Abdul Azad.

Despite repeated declarations of unity, the dissension between Hindus and Moslems, India's old problem, is still strong. The Moslem League is the only organised political body besides the Congress. The League, led by Mr. Jinnah, opposes the Congress, but stands also for independence, recommending an autonomous Moslem state within India. The Moslems reject any system which would reduce them to a minority status, and seem to rely on Britain against Congress aspirations. They deny the claim of the Congress to speak for the Indian people.

India is inhabited by peoples speaking 225 different languages, of which Hindustani and Bengali (of the Indo-European group) are the most widely used. Illiteracy exceeds 85%. There are only 1,600,000 industrial workers so far, and the vast majority of the population consists of small peasants, mostly tenants of the State or of big landowners, living in depressed economic and cultural conditions. The country as a whole shows an inextricable mixture of races, religions and civilisations.

There are 57,000 British troops in India, and the Indian army itself comprises 159,000 men. One division of the Indian army has been marked for complete Indianisation. The Indian forces are mostly drawn from the warlike races of the north. In the Great War of 1914 India sent 550,000 soldiers and 350,000 non-combatant service-men overseas. The troops were prevailingly Moslem and a large part came from the Principalities.

India and the war: After the outbreak of the present war the Viceroy proclaimed India to be at war by the side of the rest of the British Commonwealth. The Princes immediately expressed their consent and offered active help. The Congress, however, while unhesitatingly condemning Nazi aggression and expressing its sympathy with those resisting it, criticised the British Government's action of "declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people" and withdrew its members from the Assembly. The Congress Governments in the Provinces resigned in protest to the policy of the Central Government, and Congress collaboration in the war and in general was made dependent on (1) a satisfactory statement on war aims and (2) the immediate granting of Dominion status. The Viceroy offered the establishment of consultative bodies and the inclusion of Congress and Moslem members in the Central Government, and Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking on behalf of the British Government, held out the prospect of effecting Dominion status after the war. Congress declared these offers unsatisfactory. The Moslem League adopted a more favourable attitude towards the British Government but reiterated its reservations regarding the constitutional demands of Congress.

INDOCHINA, French, 281,000 sq. m., population 24,000,000. French dependency consisting of five parts, viz. the colony of Cochinchina, the protectorate of Annam, Cambodia, Tonking and Laos. Annam and Cambodia are nominally empires with their own emperors but under control of French Residents. The whole territory is governed by a French Governor-General. French troops, mainly the Foreign Legion, and native troops, are stationed throughout the territory. The country is very rich and one of France's most valuable colonies. Production is primarily agricultural, rice being the chief product. Rubber production is increasing, and has already reached a considerable level. Zinc and tin ores are mined. The population is Mongolian. Various local languages are spoken. There are nationalist currents among the native intelligentsia, and social unrest among the coolies has been observed from time to time.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, shortly, I.W.W., syndicalist labour movement in the U.S.A., organised in 1905 under the leadership of De Leon, Eugene V. Debs and W. D. Haywood. Stood for "industrial" unionism, organising all workers of each industry in one union with the plant as unit, as opposed to the "craft unions" of the American Federation of Labour. After several splits the movement reached a membership of 100,000 in 1912. The I.W.W. refused an invitation to join the Communists but lost members to them, including two leaders, W. D. Haywood and W. Z. Foster. In 1924 a new split occurred over the question of centralised management. Subsequently membership fell to less than 10,000. The I.W.W. was for a time the symbol of radicalism in America. The idea of "industrial" unionism has been recently revived by the (non-syndicalist) CIO movement.

INFLATION, the expansion of money circulation beyond the requirements given by the volume of production and the smooth working of payments. Inflation causes a disproportion between the available quantity of goods and the available amount of money, resulting in prices going up. The Great War of 1914-1918 and the post-war years brought inflation in many countries, the crassest example being the German inflation before 1923 which consisted in so much note-printing that in the end the German mark had fallen to an infinitesimal fraction of its original value. 1,000,000,000,000 marks were afterwards consolidated into one gold mark. Following the great economic crisis of 1930, inflation was used as a stimulant for business activities, for financing public works and rearmament in a number of countries, but "controlled" or "dosed" inflation took the place of unbridled printing in former years. In view of public distrust of note-printing in general, more refined methods of inflation, not recognisable as such at first glance, were developed, especially the system of Government bills and tax bonds in Germany and certain methods of "credit expansion" in other countries. Inflation as a means of balancing deficits in the public finances results in a reduction in the value of money, savings, wages and bonds, and is in effect tantamount to indirect taxation.

INÖNÜ, Ismet, President of the Turkish Republic, formerly known as Ismet Pasha. Born 1884 at Smyrna, became an army officer

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION]

in 1903, was soon called to the General Staff, served as Corps Commander on the Syrian Front during the Great War of 1914-1918, joined the Kemalists in 1919, was chief organiser of the Nationalist army, defeated the Greeks at Inönü, Anatolia, had a great share in the decisive Turkish victory on the Sakarya and captured Smyrna. Was Minister of Foreign Affairs 1922-1923, signed the Treaty of Lausanne; was Prime Minister, right-hand man and intimate friend of Kemal > Atatürk from 1923 to 1937. When the Turks adopted surnames in 1934 he chose that of Inönü in commemoration of his victory. In September 1937 he relinquished his office, officially owing to ill-health, but rumours alleged the existence of certain differences with Kemal Atatürk. On the latter's death in 1938 İsmet İnönü was unanimously elected his successor as President of the Republic on November 11, 1938, and as lifelong leader of the Republican People's Party, the sole political organisation of Turkey, on December 27, 1938. His political objects are the continuation of Kemalism, modernisation and strengthening of Turkey, authoritarian but progressive rule, friendship with the Western Powers as well as with Russia.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION, an international body set up at Geneva under Art. 23 (a) of the League Covenant and Art. 387-427 of the treaty of Versailles, comprising all League members and having four constituent bodies: the General Conference, the Governing Body, the Auxiliary Organs and the International Labour Office. The Conference, known as the International Labour Conference, meets at least once a year in order to discuss labour questions, to establish international conventions or recommendations in regard to labour conditions, and to examine measures taken to give effect to conventions. Each State sends four delegates, two for the Government, one for the employers and one for the workers. A two-thirds majority is required for the adoption of recommendations or a draft convention, otherwise a simple majority is sufficient for the resolutions. Members must bring recommendations or conventions before their legislatures within 18 months. Government, employers' and workers' delegates form international groups among themselves and frequently vote together. The Governing Body controls the International Labour Office and appoints its Director. Auxiliary organs comprise a number of committees on various questions. The International Labour Office collects and distributes international information on labour questions, makes investigations and publishes a periodical paper. Its staff numbers 400, drawn from 37 nationalities. The I.L.O. comprises 60 States at present, including the U.S.A., while Germany, Italy and Japan have withdrawn. It has produced 63 conventions so far, relating to hours of work, unemployment, pensions, &c., and it has obtained 782 ratifications.

INTERNATIONALE, L', the international anthem of socialist and communist workers, also the national anthem of the Soviet Union. Written in French by Eugène Pottier in 1871, composed by Pierre de Gayter, a Belgian worker-composer, who died in Paris in 1934. The first verse reads in English

version: Arise, ye starvelings, from your slumber, / Arise, ye prisoners of want ! / For reason in revolt now thunders / And at last ends the age of cant. / Now away with all your superstition ; / Servile masses, arise, arise ! / We'll change forthwith the old condition / And spurn the dust to win the prize. / Then, comrades, come rally / And the last fight let us face, / *L'Internationale* / Unites the human race.

INTERNATIONALS, the international associations of socialist parties for the purpose of co-ordinating their policies. The first International was founded by > Marx in 1864, the Second International was established in 1889, the Third or Communist International split off from it in 1921, the Second International continuing to be the association of the moderate socialist parties. A loose association of small radical groups under > Trotsky, formed in 1936, claims to be the Fourth International. (> Socialism, > Communism.)

I.R.A., initials of the > Irish Republican Army.. .

IRAN, formerly known as Persia, 628,000 sq. m., population 15,000,000, kingdom (sometimes also referred to as an empire) under a *Shah*, at present Riza Khan Pehlevi. Capital: Teheran (360,000). The once powerful country has suffered from internal disorders since 1900. A Constitution was given after a revolution in 1906. An Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 divided the country into a northern Russian and a southern British sphere of influence. In the Great War of 1914-1918 Persia was neutral; but great parts were occupied by British, Russians, Turks and Germans. After the Communist revolution in Russia 1917, it was one of Trotsky's first deeds to annul the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 and to renounce all Russian rights in Persia. The British troops were withdrawn in 1918. At this time emerged Riza Khan, an officer of the Persian Cossack Brigade, who had risen from the ranks. In a short time he had taken the lead in the growing nationalist movement. He became War Minister in 1920, Prime Minister in 1922; the *Shah* departed to Europe and Riza Khan became the virtual ruler of the country. He reorganised the military forces, restored peace and order in Persia and embarked on a policy of nationalism and modernisation. The Parliament offered him the crown in 1925 and he became *Shah* after the deposition of the Turcoman Kadjardynasty. Riza Shah effected a series of far-reaching reforms, broke the power of the reactionary Shi'ite clergy, made Persia relatively strong and really independent, developed industries. Treaties of friendship were concluded with Turkey (1926), the Soviet Union and Afghanistan (1927). The Pact of Saadabad (1934) established political collaboration between Turkey, Persia, Iraq and Afghanistan. In 1935 the Persian Government requested the Foreign Governments and press to use the name "Iran" (as the country had always been styled in her own language) instead of "Persia". In 1939 the Crown Prince of Iran married the sister of King Farouk of Egypt, which was not only politically important but also significant of the diminution of the formerly strong tension between the Sunnite and Shi'ite sections of Islam.

The Constitution of 1906 is still valid and a *Mejlis* or Parliament is elected every two years on the basis of a limited franchise.

IRAQ

Actually, power is in the hands of the strong personality of the Shah. There are 5,000 schools with 300,000 pupils now as against 600 schools with 55,000 pupils in 1921. The army is based on conscription. Iran is one of the great oil-producing countries of the world. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, a concern in which the British Government holds a substantial interest, works the extensive South Iranian oilfields with an increasing production (10,300,000 tons in 1938). Greatest trade partner of Iran is the Soviet Union (accounting for about 40% of the foreign trade), next comes Germany, then Britain, the U.S. and India. The currency is pegged to the £, and there is foreign exchange control.

IRAK, Arab kingdom, covering the territory formerly known as Mesopotamia, 116,000 sq. m., population 3,500,000, capital Baghdad, port Basrah on the Persian Gulf. Formerly a Turkish province, Iraq was organised as a State under British Mandate after the last war, and Emir Faisal, son of King Hussein of Mecca, who had just been driven out of Syria, was made King of Iraq in 1921 after a 96% favourable plebiscite. The country was, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate, developed to an increasing degree of independence. A Constituent Assembly adopted a Constitution in 1924 providing for a limited monarchy, responsible government and a two-chamber parliament with a nominated 20-member-senate and a Lower House of 150 elected deputies. King Faisal I died in 1930, and his son Ghazi succeeded him. On December 14, 1927, Great Britain recognised Iraq's full independence, and on October 4, 1932, Iraq became a member of the League, the Mandate being ended. The country is independent but in special treaty relations with Britain. Iraq has an alliance with Britain, there is a British military mission, the police force has British inspectors, and the Royal Air Force maintains squadrons at various stations in Iraq. The kingdom has a conscript army (28,000 in peace time) with modern equipment and a mobile police of 10,000. Irrigation schemes are under consideration to restore the country's ancient fertility. The Mosul oilfields, run by a company under joint control of the Royal Dutch and Standard Oil groups and connected with Haifa by a pipe line, and the Khanaquin oilfields near the Iranian frontier, belonging to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., are important.

King Ghazi died in a car crash on April 4, 1939. He was succeeded by his infant son, King Faisal II, born May 2, 1935. A coup d'etat by Hikmet Sulaiman and Chief of Staff Bakir Sidki in 1936 had removed the two parties of General Nuri es Said Pasha (Progressive) and Yasin Pasha (Nationalist). Bakir Sidki was assassinated by a soldier in August 1938 and Hikmet Sulaiman resigned. He was followed by the moderate Gamil el Madfai, and in December 1938 Nuri es Said Pasha came back from exile and has been premier since. He is progressive, nationalist and pan-Arab. In the present war Iraq has sided with Britain, breaking with Germany on September 6, 1939, in accordance with the terms of the alliance.

IRELAND, 31,800 sq. m., population 4,300,000. Ireland was divided into a number of Celtic kingdoms with a high king

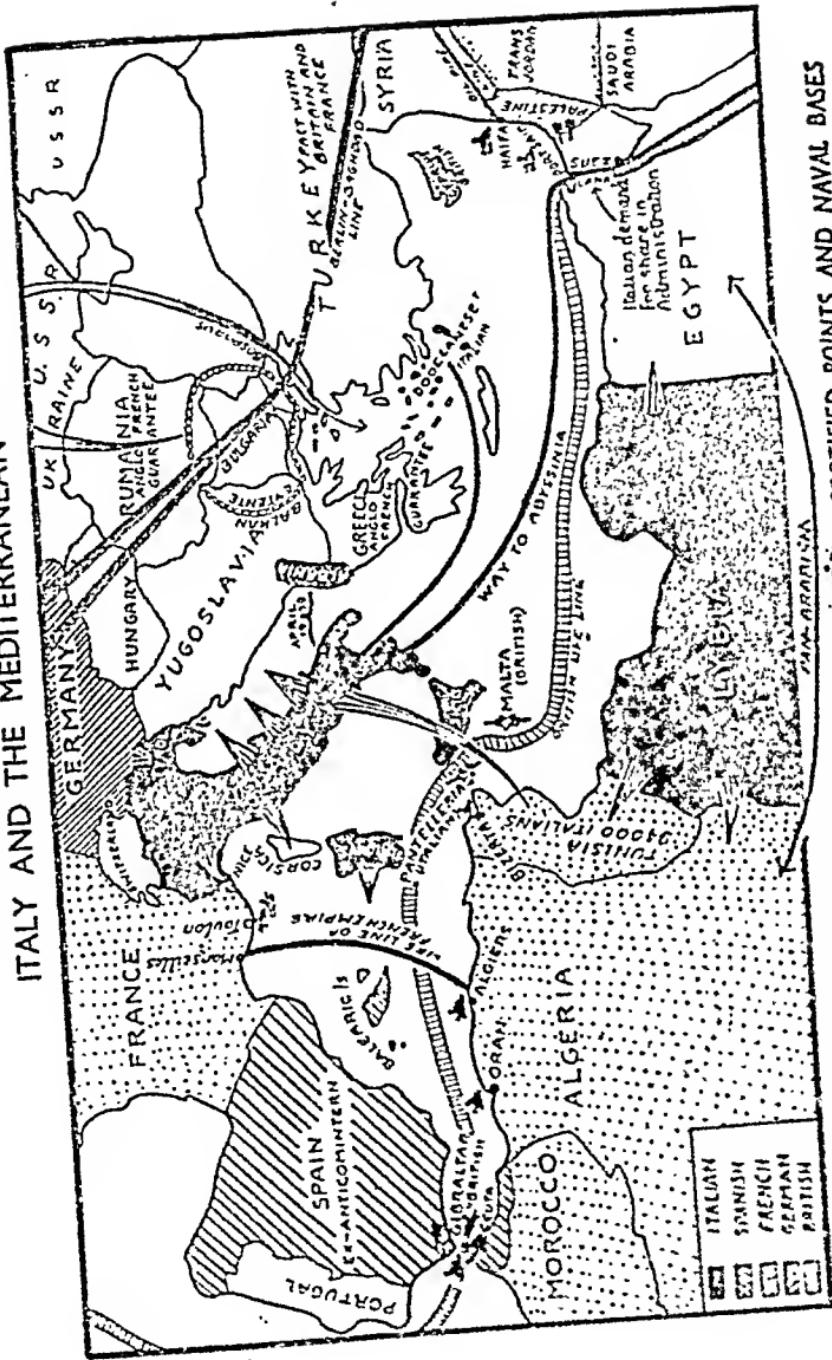
(whose authority was doubtful) up to 1152, when one of the sub-kings invoked the aid of the Anglo-Normans in a struggle with the high king. This led to the first landing of the English in Ireland, and henceforward English rule was extended until Henry VIII assumed the title of King of Ireland. The Irish were in constant opposition to English rule and the racial cleavage was deepened by the religious rift after the reformation of the English Church when Ireland remained Roman Catholic. Very serious fighting occurred under Cromwell who subsequently ordered the evacuation of the northern counties, now known as Ulster, by the Irish population, and settled Protestant Englishmen and Scots there. James II landed with French help in 1689 and was defeated by William III at the Battle of the Boyne (1690). An Irish Parliament, subordinate to that of England, subsisted till 1800, when union was proclaimed and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland created. By that time Ireland had become largely anglicised, the Gaelic Irish language had almost vanished, but the national consciousness of the Irish survived. In the 19th century, as had already been the case in the two foregoing ones, the Anglo-Irish dissension was aggravated by social and economic oppression of the Irish. Most of the land had become the property of English noblemen in the course of the centuries and the Irish peasant was holding it only as a tenant. When poor crops prevented him from promptly paying the rent, he was relentlessly driven from the soil. This was a cause for steady Irish emigration, mostly to the United States. One-half of Ireland's production went to England to absentee landlords. The Irish population was the only one in Europe to decrease in the 19th century. The Irish question was eventually tackled by the Liberal Gladstone Government, and in 1866 and 1893 the first Irish Home Rule Bills were introduced. Though they were rejected, Gladstone was more successful in settling the Irish land question. The work initiated by him in securing the peasant's tenure of land was substantially completed in 1903. A large number of bonds remained which had been issued to compensate the landlords for relinquishing their property rights, and part of their service was based on the Irish land annuities. In 1912, a new Home Rule Bill was introduced by the Liberal Asquith Government. This met with passionate opposition in Ulster. Sir Edward Carson raised the Ulster Volunteers, while Irish volunteers for Home Rule were organised in Southern Ireland, and civil war in Ireland was imminent. The Home Rule Bill was twice rejected by the Lords, and in the meanwhile the Great War of 1914 broke out. The Home Rule Bill was then passed but its operation delayed until after the war. Northern and Southern Irishmen went to the front in common, except for a group of radical Southern nationalists who became known as the Sinn Fein Party (pron. shin fen, Gaelic, meaning "we ourselves") and co-operated with Germany in preparing an insurrection. The uprising took place at Dublin at Easter, 1916. The Irish Republic was proclaimed but the rising was put down after heavy fighting and a number of leaders were executed, among

IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY]

them Sir Roger Casement, who had come from Germany in a U-boat to direct the anti-British action. When the war was over, another Home Rule Bill was passed, providing for a Northern Irish Parliament at Belfast and a Southern Irish one at Dublin. The Radical Irish Nationalists, however, started civil war. They started a campaign of shooting the Irish Constabulary man by man, and organised terror throughout Ireland. Britain retorted by sending a special police force known as the Black-and-Tans, and a period of guerilla warfare followed. The Sinn Feiners not only attacked the British but also terrorised that section of the Irish population which did not sympathise with them. The Black-and-Tans retaliated in kind and both sides competed in cruelty. Finally the Sinn Feiners attacked also the regular military, and the answer was the burning down of whole quarters in some rebellious towns. The 73 Sinn Fein members of the British Parliament (out of a total of 105 Irish M.P.s) had meanwhile withdrawn from Westminster and gathered at Dublin as Dáil Eireann or Irish National Assembly. This dark period came to an end in 1921 when the Anglo-Irish Treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Dáil Eireann. The Home Rule Bill of 1920 was repealed, and the Irish Free State Act of 1922 created a Dominion known as the Irish Free State in Southern Ireland (now > Eire). > Northern Ireland remained a part of the United Kingdom but was given a degree of self-government. The radical Irish Republicans (> De Valera) rejected the treaty and rose against the Free State Government. Civil war flared up again and lasted till spring 1923, ending with the victory of the Government. For further developments see articles on > Eire and > Irish Republican Army.

IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY, an illegal association of radical Irish nationalists claiming to be a continuation of the Irish Republican Volunteers who seceded in the number of 12,000 from the Southern Irish Volunteers (total number 160,000) in 1914 over the question of participation in the World War, carried out the Easter Week Rising at Dublin in 1916, proclaimed the Irish Republic, and fought the Free State Government in the Irish Civil War of 1922. They cling to the fiction that this Irish Republic continues to exist, and they regard themselves as its army. They reject the Eire Government, aim at the reunion of North Ireland and Eire, and complete secession of Ireland from the British Commonwealth. Since 1938 their activities have concentrated on a continuous chain of bomb explosions in London and other English towns. The I.R.A. is condemned by the Government of Eire. It is stated to have about 10,000 members, including a number of women. They have no official organisation, wear no badges, and hold secret meetings only. The I.R.A. is governed by a "Supreme Army Council" or "Inner Circle". In July 1939 the British Government took energetic steps against the I.R.A. which was also suspected of being an instrument of Nazi politics. The > Prevention of Violence Act was passed, and under this Act considerable numbers of I.R.A. members and sympathisers were rounded up and expelled from Britain.

ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN



FORTIFIED POINTS AND NAVAL BASES

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ASPIRATIONS AND INTERESTS OF THE POWERS

IRON GUARD]

Still greater numbers left voluntarily for fear of prosecution. A major incident occurred in Eire in December 1939 when the I.R.A. raided the Phoenix Park Arsenal and seized large quantities of arms and ammunition. An Emergency Powers Bill was thereupon passed by the Parliament of Eire by 82 votes to 9, authorising the Government to round up and intern suspects.

IRON GUARD, Rumanian Nazi organisation: > Rumania.

ISOLATIONISM, a body of political opinion in the United States, advocating non-interference with European affairs. The isolationist leader Senator Borah died in January 1940. Present leaders are Senators Vandenberg, Johnson and Nye. There was also a certain amount of isolationism in Great Britain before the present war, advocating non-intervention in Continental or at least East Continental affairs. Isolationist currents were also visible in the Dominions.

ITALY, Kingdom of, 119,700 sq. m., population 44,000,000.

While nominally a monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III, born November 11, 1869, Italy is virtually ruled dictatorially by > Mussolini and his Fascist Party (> Fascism). The former Chamber of Deputies was made *de facto* purely Fascist in 1926 and *de jure* so in 1928. In 1934 the Chamber surrendered legislative powers to the National Council of Corporations and in October 1938 it ceased to exist. It was replaced by the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations, composed of members of the National Council of the Fascist Party and of the National Council of Corporations. The number of members is about 800. The Government has the permanent right to issue decree-laws which are subsequently placed before the Chamber. The latter deals also with constitutional laws, with legislation of general character; budget estimates and returns. Other matters may be discussed and other legislative measures approved only with previous authorisation of the Head of the Government (Mussolini). The actual ruling body is the Fascist Grand Council. The latter must be heard on all constitutional questions, changes in the succession to the throne, relations between Church and State and territorial changes. All professions form their corporations which send delegates to the National Council of Corporations. The latter can make economic laws. Care is taken that employers and employees in all categories are represented, with party representatives holding the balance. The original intention to create a full-scale corporate State has not been carried out. The corporations enjoy no autonomy but act under the directions of the party. Only Fascist corporations are admitted. State centralism and party dictatorship are the essence of Italian Government while the corporations are hardly more than technical instruments.

The Senate, composed of about 350 members appointed for life by the King at the proposal of the Head of the Government, has been retained. The Fascist Government has secured a large majority but a number of the older Senators show slight opposition by non-co-operation. Anti-Jewish laws were adopted under German pressure in 1938 but they are milder than in Germany and applied with less rigour.

Italy's colonial empire, the *Impero*, consists of Italian East Africa, comprising Abyssinia (the King of Italy has borne the title of Emperor of Ethiopia since 1936), Eritrea and Italian Somaliland with a total area of 660,000 sq. m., and a population of 15,000,000; and of Libya (Italian North Africa) with 685,000 sq. m. and 700,000 inhabitants. The latter colony is mostly desert. Abyssinia's resources are presumed to be considerable, but lack of capital has hampered the development of this new possession. In March 1939 > Albania was occupied and the King of Italy adopted the title of King of Albania.

The Italian army numbers about, 5,000,000 trained reserves and is very well equipped. First-line aircraft are estimated at 2,000. The Italian navy comprises 4 battleships, 22 cruisers, 56 destroyers, 72 torpedo boats and 105 submarines. Most of the ships are of modern construction. Italy holds an important strategic position in the > Mediterranean and the Red Sea along British Imperial communications.

Italy produces practically no coal and no iron ore. Her industry depends on imported materials. Steel production is 2 million tons p.a. Despite the bid for autarky in agriculture there is still a deficit of 15% in foodstuffs. Imports in 1938 totalled 11 milliards of lire, exports 7.6 milliards. The unfavourable balance, a permanent feature in Italian foreign trade, is regularly covered by tourist traffic and remittances by Italians overseas. Ten million Italians live abroad, mostly in the Americas. Germany is Italy's principal trade partner (imports 3, exports 2 milliards), then follow, at a great distance, the U.S.A., Britain and Switzerland.

Quick increase in population and lack of raw materials have led Italy on the way of imperialism. Vast African territories were conquered in 1911 and 1936, but the number of Italians settled there has not so far exceeded 30,000. Italy has raised claims on France regarding > Djibuti, > Tunis and unofficially also > Corsica and Nice. She also claims a share in the administration of the > Suez Canal. To back her claims she temporarily abandoned her traditional friendship with Britain and France and entered upon the > Axis policy in common with Nazi Germany. Notwithstanding the alliance concluded with Germany in May 1939 Italy remained neutral after the outbreak of the present war. Considerations have probably been: unpopularity of the Axis policy; dislike on the part of the dynasty, the influential Roman Church and a great portion of the people to wage war on the Western Powers by the side of Nazi Germany, particularly since the latter's association with Soviet Russia; Italy's industrial weakness and sensitiveness to a blockade; and a general feeling that Latin Italy's natural affinity lies rather with Western civilisation than with Nazism.

Italy has special interests in the > Balkans and the > Danube Basin, and here she is rather a rival than an ally of Germany. While German and Soviet Russian influence begin to compete in this region, the Balkan and Danube countries look increasingly to Italy.

I.W.W., initials of the > Industrial Workers of the World, a radical movement in American labour.

JAPAN. Empire of, area (Japan proper) 148,800 sq. m., possessions overseas (Korea, Formosa, South Sakhalin) 114,600 sq. m., population (Japan proper) 73,000,000, possessions 30,000,000. Emperor Hirohito, born 1901, ascended the throne on December 25, 1926. The Japanese Emperor is often referred to as Mikado abroad; his actual title is Tenno. The Imperial dynasty claims divine origin. Since her modernisation in the second half of the 19th century, Japan has pursued a policy of expansion and leadership in Asia, marked by the first war with China in 1894, the war with Russia in 1905, participation in the World War of 1914 on the Allied side, intervention in Soviet Russia in 1918, seizure of Manchuria in 1931 and the second war with China since 1937. Japanese policies from 1900 to 1922 were based on an alliance with Britain, directed principally against Russia. In 1922 the alliance was dropped by Britain in view of American dislike. Under the leadership of an ambitious military caste Japan has started on no less a task than the conquest and reorganisation of China. Japan is driven by her over-population and lack of rawstuffs. Manchuria, seized first, has empty space, but the climate is unsuitable for Japanese settlers. Only 200,000 Japanese have settled in Manchuria, now known as Manchukuo and a virtual Japanese protectorate. Southern China, now in course of conquest, offers a more suitable climate but is over-populated herself. So it seems that China is not suited to become an outlet for Japan's surplus population. Japan wants control of China above all as a source of raw materials and an enormous market. This would allow further industrialisation of Japan and thus the employment of her dense population. At present only one-sixth of the Japanese are employed in industry which has, notwithstanding its relatively small size, more than once disturbed the international markets by dumping based on proverbially low wages. One half of the Japanese people are employed in agriculture, and there is a land problem caused by the large proportion of big feudal estates. The peasants are largely small tenants with a low standard of living.

The Japanese Parliament (Teikoku-Gikai) consists of a Lower House (Shugiin) of 463 members, elected for four years by universal manhood suffrage and an Upper House (Kizokuin) of 411 members, of whom 192 are members for life while the rest are elected by special groups, especially the largest taxpayers, for seven years. The Upper House is an organisation of the aristocracy and great financial interests. Legislation must pass both Houses, but the Government is responsible to the Emperor only. The policies of State are determined independently of Parliament. The last election was held on April 30, 1937. The two great parties of the Lower House are the Minseito (leaders Machida, Yamamoto, Ogawa, Wakatsuki) with 179 seats, representing the urban and industrial population, and the rather agrarian Seiyukai with 176 seats

(leaders Hatoyama, Yoshizawa, Kawamura, Nakajima). There is a moderate Socialist Party known as Shakai Taishuto (35 seats) and a Fascist Party known as Kokumin Domei (11) with a radical offshoot, the Tohokai (12). All parties are united in the support of the policy of conquest in China. The Government has been independent of the parties since 1932, and the fighting services have been the most influential factor.

On the Sino-Japanese war, see the article on > China. The war is now in its third year and the strain on Japan is being heavily felt. Some observers hold that Japanese successes in China have been bought too dearly. There have been 600,000 Japanese casualties so far, and economic and financial exhaustion is threatening. Japanese war appropriations were £300,000,000 in 1938 alone. Japan has no friends since the termination of the Anti-Comintern triangle Berlin-Rome-Tokyo, and Russia, Britain and the U.S. lend their unofficial support to China. Russia fears a Japanese attack on Siberia; Russo-Japanese fighting in border districts is of frequent occurrence. Britain and the U.S. do not want Japan to monopolise the enormous Chinese market with its 400 million potential customers. Further Japanese aspirations, e.g., to the Philippines, Hawaii, French Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Australia and even India, are anticipated in the event of a further rise of Japanese power, and a fear of the Japanese, organising China for a common onslaught on Europe—the "Yellow Peril"—still looms in the background though it may be rather a remote possibility. Anyway there are reasons enough for the Powers to look with disfavour on Japan's victory in China. See map "The Far East".

The Japanese Army numbers 5,000,000 trained reserves and is reckoned among the best forces of the world. About 2,000,000 troops are engaged in the Chinese campaign. The Japanese Navy, the third in the world, comprises 9 battleships, 14 heavy and 24 light cruisers, 112 destroyers, 60 submarines and 6 aircraft carriers. A number of new ships are building. Japan has refused to join the > Naval Treaty of London, and the naval construction programme is kept secret.

When Germany suddenly ended Anti-Comintern policies in August 1939, the Government of Baron Hiranuma in Japan, which had been pledged to these policies, resigned, and was replaced by the Government of General Abe, a military leader with more moderate views. He in turn was succeeded in January 1940 by Admiral Yonai who declared his Government would concentrate on a settlement of the China affair and keep out of the European war.

JEWISH AGENCY, the body instituted by the League Mandate for Palestine to represent the Jewish side in matters concerning the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The Agency consists of Zionists and non-Zionists from all countries in the proportion of 50 : 50. Its president is Dr. > Chaim Weizmann.

JEWS, about 15,000,000, of whom 3,000,000 live in Poland, 3,000,000 in Russia, 800,000 in Rumania, 4,400,000 in the

United States, 450,000 in Palestine, 300,000 in Germany, 300,000 in Great Britain, 250,000 in France, the rest scattered all over the world. The Jews in Poland, Russia and Rumania have for the most part preserved a specific ethnical character, clinging to their religion in an orthodox way, wearing special dresses and speaking their own language, "Yiddish", a mixture of mediaeval German (brought to the East by Jewish refugees from the Rhine fleeing before the pogromising crusaders) and distorted Hebrew. The language is written in Hebrew characters and a considerable literature exists in it. Unlike the "Eastern" Jews, the "Western" Jews in the other countries have assimilated themselves to their surroundings and have in language as well as civilisation become a part of the nations among which they live. Their religious attitude is more liberal than in the East. The Jews in the East are mostly traders, artisans, innkeepers, &c., in Russia they are workers and peasants, while the Jews in the West belong prevailingly to the profession of merchant, banker, industrialist, doctor, lawyer, office worker, professor, &c., except for America and the East of London where there is a Jewish proletariat engaged in handicraft and industry, particularly the garment industry. Western Jewry had been in recession for many years until recently, owing to the exclusion of immigration from the East, a very low birth-rate and frequent intermarriage with Christians. German Jewry, e.g., had a post-war birth-rate of only one-seventh of the rate which would have been necessary to maintain the Jewish population at its level, and "mixed" marriages with Christians made up over one-third of all Jewish marriages. So there would have probably been no Jewry left in Germany after another generation but for Hitler who came to proclaim the "Jewish problem" a burning issue. He forbade "mixed" marriages in the interest of the "pure German race", deprived the Jews of all rights and property and their expulsion was in progress when the present war broke out. The expulsion of German Jews caused an increase in the number of Jews in West Europe and America.

A movement has been on foot since the turn of the century to re-establish a Jewish State in Palestine (> Zionism). It has rallied about 15% to 20% of the Jews under its banner, the others partly sympathising. The Jewish contribution to civilisation has been great. Christianity and Islam arose out of Judaism, and very numerous are the outstanding men of Jewish origin in science, art, politics and other fields, such as Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Disraeli, Hertz, Wassermann, Ehrlich, Einstein, Freud. The Jews have also had their share in the development of industry and trade everywhere. Nevertheless, or perhaps for that reason, they have been the object of a special current of hatred, > Anti-Semitism.

The Jews enjoy legal and actual equality of status in all countries except Germany, Italy and Hungary. Theoretical equality exists in Rumania, but in fact the Jews are discriminated against there. The position was similar in Poland before the present war.

KARELIA, an autonomous Soviet Republic within the framework of the U.S.S.R. (> Soviet Union), situated on the Soviet-Finnish border and partly inhabited by a Finnish-speaking population. The new territory ceded by Finland has been incorporated with it in a Karelian-Finnish S.S.R.

KELLOGG PACT, also known as Kellogg-Briand Pact, an international agreement signed in 1928 on the initiative of Frank B. Kellogg, at that time U.S. Foreign Secretary, in co-operation with Briand, French Foreign Minister, by which the signatory nations (almost all in the world) condemned war as an instrument of settling international disputes and undertook to settle such disputes by peaceful methods.

KENNEDY, Joseph Patrick, American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, born September 6, 1888, at Boston, Mass., sold newspapers and candy on an excursion steamer in his youth, studied and graduated at Harvard in 1912. Started on a business and banking career, became bank president at Boston in 1914, assistant general manager of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation in 1919, president of the Film Booking Offices of America in 1929, specialised in the financing of motion-picture corporations. Was appointed chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission which inquired into Stock Exchange affairs in 1934, resigned in 1935, was called back by President Roosevelt in 1937 to organise the U.S. Maritime Commission. On January 7, 1938, Kennedy was appointed U.S. Ambassador in London. He is a staunch supporter and intimate adviser of President Roosevelt, works persistently for Anglo-American friendship, is one of the most important personalities in international politics.

KING, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada, born 1874 at Kitchener, Ont., educated at Toronto, Chicago and Harvard University, Deputy Minister of Labour 1900-1908, Minister of Labour 1909-1911; Liberal M.P. 1908-1911, since 1919, for Prince Albert, Sask., since 1926. Elected successor to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Liberal leader in 1919; Prime Minister 1921-1930, again since 1935. (> Canada.)

KREMLIN, the castle overlooking Moscow, once the residence of the Tsars, now the seat of the Soviet Government.

KROPOTKIN, > anarchism.

KRUPP, leading German industrialist and armament manufacturer. The Krupp works at Essen, West Germany, are one of the largest armament factories in the world. Prior to the Great War of 1914-1918 the house of Krupp maintained particularly good relations with the Kaiser, ousted practically all competitors for ordnance deliveries, stood behind German naval expansion for evident reasons of business, fostered imperialist policies. After the Great War, the firm was forbidden to produce armaments but soon resumed that branch of activities in secret. Hitler's party was at the outset supported by Krupp only hesitatingly, but once Hitler was in power, Krupp secured considerable influence on the German dictator. It

[KUO MIN TANG]

was in Krupp's villa at Essen that the Blood Bath of June 30, 1934, against the semi-socialist wing of the Nazi Party was schemed, and the subsequent large-scale rearmament of Germany brought enormous profits to the house. Hitler often referred to Krupp as a sort of national property. The firm employed 100,000 workers in summer 1939. Its head is Dr. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, and left-wing Germans have always regarded it as a sinister factor in German politics.

KUO MIN TANG, Chinese nationalist and progressive party.

The name means National People's Party. The party was founded in 1905 by the late Dr. > Sun Yat-Sen, was active in the first Chinese revolution of 1911, lead the second revolution against Marshal Yuan Shi-Kai (> China) in 1912, has worked mainly in South China since 1916. Was reorganised under a Soviet Russian adviser, Borodin, in 1923, spread its power first over South, then over North China under > Chiang Kai-Shek, has conducted China's defence against the Japanese invasion since 1937. The party aims at the development of China into a modern, democratic State; at national unity, territorial integrity and central government; at full national freedom and the abolition of unequal treaties. The programme provides for a "period of tutelage" for the Chinese people during which the Kuo Min Tang is to act as the governing body. Leaders besides Chiang Kai-Shek are Dr. H. H. Kung, Sun Fo, Dr. Wang Chung-Hui, Chang Chun, Feng Yu-Hsiang, Chü Cheng and Yen Hsi-Shan.

LABOUR PARTY, British socialist party, member of the Second International, obtained in the 1935 election 8,325,000 votes out of 22,000,000 and 168 seats in the House of Commons out of 615. The Labour Party is composed of the trade unions, socialist and co-operative societies which are collective members, and local political organisations consisting of individual members. The representation of the political groups on the executive has been increased recently but owing to their large membership the trade unions dominate the party. The socialist programme of the party is > Fabian, moderate, evolutionary and democratic. It aims at nationalisation of industry and transport, planned economy and abolition of class differences on the basis of general welfare. This aim is to be reached not by a revolution but by gradual evolution, social legislation and expansion of State control over economic life. The programme is not Marxist but the methods and phraseology of Marxism are sometimes used and the party belongs to an International with a Marxist platform. The former radical pacifism and anti-militarism of the party was given up in view of the Nazi menace and the party has for years advocated an energetic anti-Nazi course in foreign politics. The party stands for the maintenance of the British Commonwealth, but favours self-government of India and gradual development of self-government in the colonies. Its "immediate" programme provides for national control of finance, land, transport, coal and power, control of imports, shorter working-week, housing, more social legislation and unemployment aid. The Labour Party has twice formed the Government (in 1924 and 1929-1931) but both times as a minority only, and no measures of nationalisation were taken. James Ramsay Macdonald, the former leader of the party, decided on remaining in, and heading, the National Government (essentially a Conservative one) in 1931 which resulted in his expulsion from the party. Macdonald formed the > National Labour Party with a small number of followers afterwards. The Labour Party has been in opposition since 1931 and refused to take office even on the outbreak of the present war when it was offered participation in the War Cabinet. It gives, however, its whole-hearted support to the National Government in the prosecution of the war against Hitlerism. Most important leaders of the Labour Party are Major C. R. > Attlee (Leader), Arthur > Greenwood (Deputy Leader, coming more and more to the fore), Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, Lord Snell, Lord Passfield, W. Wedgwood Benn, P. Noel Baker, Harold Laski, Ellen Wilkinson, J. S. Middleton, J. R. Clynes.

LATVIA, 25,000 sq. m., population 2,000,000, formerly a Russian province, independent since November 1917. Capital is Riga. The original democratic constitution was suspended in May 1934 and all political parties were dissolved. A conservative, agrarian and nationalist group under President K. Ulmanis has ruled dictatorially since. The general policy has been one

LEAGUE OF NATIONS]

of neutrality, apart from basic Anti-Communism. There have been minority problems (12% Russians, 3% Germans). In October 1939 Russia availed herself of the European war to force a sort of protectorate on Latvia as on the other Baltic buffer States, and she seems to aspire to the total reacquisition of the country which is strategically and commercially important for her because of the good Latvian ports of Riga, Libau and Windau. The latter two ports are ice-free. The arrangements with Russia included an alliance and the establishment of strong Soviet garrisons, air bases and naval bases at the two last-named ports. The German minority was by order of Hitler evacuated to Germany. See map of the Baltic.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, established 1920 under a Covenant of 26 articles forming part I of the peace treaty of Versailles and other peace treaties. The seat of the League is Geneva, Switzerland. The formation of the League was Point 14 of President Wilson's > Fourteen Points, but the U.S. Congress refused to ratify the treaty of Versailles and to join the League in 1920.

The Covenant binds the member-nations mutually to respect and to preserve against aggression their independence and territorial integrity; not to employ force for the settlement of a dispute until they have first submitted it to the League or to arbitrators; if the League or the arbitrators fail to reach a unanimous decision within six months, the disputing nations may proceed to war only after an additional delay of three months. Sanctions (art. 16) may be taken against any country committing an aggression in defiance of the Covenant. Reduction of armaments and reconsideration of treaties are provided for in the Covenant.

The Assembly of the League is to meet annually at Geneva, each member-nation having one vote. There are 54 members at present. The Council of the League meets normally three times a year. Great Britain, France and Russia are permanent members of the Council, and 12 other members are elected temporarily. The League maintains an extensive organisation, including the > International Labour Organisation and the > Permanent Court of International Justice.

The work of the League was hampered from the outset by the absence of the United States, by too loose an organisation and by lack of an executive force of its own. Member-States refused in practice to give up a substantial part of their sovereignty and national policies in favour of the League. The cleavage between the conquerors and the conquered of the World War of 1914-1918 likewise hindered the functioning of the League. When Germany joined the League in 1925, prospects seemed to improve, but after the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship in 1933 Germany left the League again. German nationalists had always described it as an agency of the Allied Powers. The League had forestalled a few minor conflicts in Europe but failed to prevent Japanese aggression against China in Manchuria in 1932. The condemnation by the League of Japan's action resulted in Japan's withdrawal from the League; but no action was taken by the latter. The

accession of Soviet Russia in 1934 appeared to make up for the loss of Germany and Japan but when the League resorted to sanctions against Italy in 1935 owing to that country's aggression against Abyssinia, the action ended with the defeat of the League. Italy withdrew from the League and could not be prevented from conquering Abyssinia as the League was anxious to confine the sanctions to a restriction of trade, refusing military sanctions. The prestige of the League suffered heavily from this blow, and the nations reverted to the old policy of alliances and blocs instead of reliance on the League. The annexation by Germany of Austria and Czechoslovakia was not opposed by the League, nor was any action taken after the invasion by Germany of Poland in September 1939. Yet after the Soviet Russian invasion of Finland, the Assembly of the League was convoked on December 11, 1939. Russia's action was condemned and she was expelled from the League.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, a British voluntary society with some 2,400 branches in the United Kingdom, and a paying membership of some 200,000 in 1939. It was formed in 1918 by the amalgamation of the League of Nations Society and the League of Free Nations Association, and subsequently incorporated by Royal Charter. By its efforts in educating and mobilising public opinion it played a large part in bringing the League of Nations into being. Objects: To secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations, to foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries, and to advocate the full development of the League of Nations for the organisation of peace and the prevention of war. The Union is a member of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, which is made up of societies with similar aims in the Dominions, France, U.S.A., and more than twenty other countries. Joint Presidents: The Viscount Cecil, and Gilbert Murray, D.C.L., LL.D.

LEBENSRAUM, German word for "living-space", a new slogan of German imperialism. Used to denote two different things:

(a) The alleged over-population of Germany in comparison with her arable soil and hence the necessity of acquiring more territory. This claim is linked up with an agricultural outlook on national life, the idea being that a country must have soil enough to produce all her food herself.

(b) The German claim to control of certain neighbouring zones, in particular in East and South-East Europe. This is a variant of the old doctrine of "spheres of influence", based on strategic or economic interests. It results in the negation of the right to independence of the smaller nations inhabiting the respective areas. The principle of living-space applies only to Germany in the Nazi interpretation.

LEBRUN, Albert, President of the French Republic, born August 29, 1871, at Mercy-le-Haut (Meurthe-et-Moselle). At first an engineer, he turned to politics about 1900, was Minister of Colonies 1911-1913, War Minister in 1913, again Colonial Minister in 1913-1914, Minister of Blockade and Liberated

LEGITIMISTS]

Regions 1917-1919. Became Senator of the Radical-Socialist Party in 1920, President of the Senate in 1930, and was elected President of the Republic in May 1932, after the assassination of President Doumergue. President Lebrun entertained the King and Queen in Paris in July 1938, and paid a State visit to London in April 1939. On April 5, 1939, he was re-elected President of the French Republic for seven years. Although constitutional practice has limited his opportunities of personal action he has repeatedly expressed his firm democratic conviction.

LEGITIMISTS, monarchists who advocate the return of a deposed legitimate dynasty. Used especially with regard to the Habsburg followers in Hungary and former Austria.

LENIN, Vladimir Ilyitch, founder of > Communism, leader of the Russian revolution, born April 22, 1870, at Simbirsk, son of a college teacher, became a lawyer, joined the Labour movement, adopted the alias of Lenin, his actual name being Ulyanoff. Was a strict Marxist, led the radical, uncompromising wing in the Russian Socialist Party which broke away from the moderate faction in 1903 under the name of Bolsheviks. Lived in exile at Paris, Vienna and Zürich from 1907 to 1917, advocating a revolutionary course at Socialist congresses. Denounced Socialist support of the war in 1914. After the Russian revolution in March 1917 Lenin desired to return to Russia so as to pursue actively a policy of revolution. The German General Staff saw its chance of getting rid of the Russian enemy and transported Lenin in a sealed carriage across Germany. Lenin arrived at Petersburg in April 1917 and took the lead of the Bolshevik Party. Together with > Trotsky he organised a first uprising in July which proved abortive, and a second on November 7, 1919 (October 25 in the Russian calendar of that time) which overthrew the moderate Kerensky Government. Lenin became President of the Council of the People's Commissars, as the Government was now called, and proletarian dictatorship was henceforward exercised by the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets (councils). There were only 1,400,000 industrial workers in Russia at that time, i.e., about 1.2% of the population. Civil war followed and Lenin hastened to conclude peace at all costs with Germany and Austria (> Brest Litovsk) so as to have a free hand in the struggle. The civil war lasted till 1921, ending with the victory of the Bolsheviks who had meanwhile adopted the name of Communists. Lenin organised the Communist or Third International, combating the moderate Socialists. After radical "war communism" he adopted the > NEP system in Russia, admitting a number of capitalistic elements so as to speed up recovery. In 1922 Lenin was shot at by a woman member of the anti-Bolshevik social-revolutionary party and wounded. Though the wound was not deadly his health remained weak thereafter. In consequence of over-work Lenin fell ill in 1923 and died on January 21, 1924. His body was embalmed and has been permanently exhibited at the Lenin mausoleum in Moscow. Petersburg was re-named Leningrad in his honour.

Lenin's theories: Lenin applied the Marxist analysis to the

new forms of capitalism which have developed since the conclusion of the work of Marx. Following the inevitable concentration of capital, huge trusts and combines have superseded the small producers of the earlier stages of capitalism. Large capital interests and the State have become inextricably interwoven, and the former drive the Governments to imperialistic policies with a view to securing foreign markets and sources of raw materials. The clash of the various imperialisms leads to war in the interest of big capitalists. Yet imperialism is the very last stage of capitalism. It harbours all inner contradictions of capitalism in an increased degree; they explode in ever greater crises and wars until the proletarian revolution overthrows capitalism and organises socialism instead.

Out of colonial extra-profits the big monopolists pay higher wages to skilled workers and thus a labour aristocracy arises which dominates the socialist parties and leads them on the way of reformism. The poorer classes of workers, however, continue to adhere to revolutionary socialism. This is the underlying cause of the rift between the moderate and radical factions in the socialist movement.

Lenin, like Marx, defines the State as the instrument of the ruling class. The proletariat must destroy it and replace it by a new State machinery of its own. The parliamentary State is but a concealed dictatorship of the capitalist class; it must be superseded by the Soviet State, the overt dictatorship of the proletariat. As class distinctions vanish and general welfare increases in the socialist society, social conditions will become harmonious and the proletarian State will pass into a stateless communist society.

LEWIS, John Llewellyn, American labour leader, born February 12, 1888, at Lucas, Iowa. For many years president of the United Mine Workers' Union, founder and leader of the CIO (Committee for Industrial Organisation) movement in American labour, organising broad mass unions instead of the limited "craft unions" of the older system.

LEY, Dr. Robert, Nazi leader, head of the German Labour Front, the compulsory organisation of German workers and employees which was set up in lieu of the dissolved trade unions. This front does not represent the workers' interests but is designed to Nazify and supervise them, to prevent them from action for higher wages and more rights, and to foster the interests of the employers and the State. The membership dues are estimated at a total of 500 million marks a year, but no accounts are published. The money is probably used for the Nazi party and Government finance.

LIBERAL PARTY, successor to the Whig Party of the 18th and 19th centuries, formerly the second great party in England but crushed between Labour and the Conservatives in the years after the Great War of 1914-1918. In the 1935 election the Liberals polled only 1,400,000 out of 23,000,000 votes and obtained 19 out of 615 seats in the House of Commons. The former Independent Liberals under Lloyd George rejoined the party in 1935. The party has been in opposition since 1933. It is progressive, places the liberal-democratic principles in

LIECHTENSTEIN]

the foreground, sharply opposes continental dictatorships, including Communism, refuses Socialism but is less antipathetic to Labour than it used to be, stands for free trade, would welcome proportional representation, is moderately left-wing. Leader is Sir Archibald > Sinclair, outstanding figures are Lord > Samuel, D. > Lloyd George, Lord Lothian, Lord Crewe. A great portion of the party broke away when the Liberals went into opposition in 1933, forming the National Liberals. The rest of the party has since been referred to as the Opposition Liberals.

LIECHTENSTEIN, Principality of, petty State between Austria and Switzerland, 65 sq. m., 11,000 German-speaking inhabitants, capital Vaduz, ruler Prince Francis Joseph. Until the disappearance of the Austrian Empire Liechtenstein was closely associated with the latter; since 1920 it has been in customs union with Switzerland which also undertakes Liechtenstein's diplomatic representation abroad. Nazi tendencies made themselves felt after the annexation by Germany of Austria but the independence of the little country has been preserved. A number of international finance companies have established themselves in Liechtenstein in order to take advantage of its low taxation and its neutrality.

LITHUANIA, 21,500 sq. m., population 2,500,000, formerly a Russian province, independent since 1918. The constitutional capital of Lithuania, Vilna, was annexed by Poland in 1920. The quarrel with Poland over Vilna and with Germany over > Memel formed the contents of Lithuanian foreign policy till 1939. Memel was reannexed by Germany in March 1939 while the Vilna district was taken by Soviet Russia in September 1939. Lithuania has owed her existence primarily to the rivalry between Germany, Poland and Russia. Now Soviet Russia seems to aspire to the reacquisition of Lithuania as well as of the other Baltic buffer States founded after the Russian revolution. Since the loss of Memel Lithuania has kept only a small strip of the Baltic coast without a serviceable port. In Lithuanian domestic politics the relatively progressive post-war dictatorship of Voldemaras was overthrown by a *coup d'état* in 1926 and Antanas Smetona has been President of the Republic since. The parliamentary constitution is still valid in theory but in fact only one party, the Nationalist Union, is authorised and rules dictatorially. The party is agrarian and conservative. Lithuania is a prevailingly agricultural country. In October 1939 Soviet Russia enforced a sort of protectorate on Lithuania, availing herself of the European war. Lithuania had to conclude an alliance with Russia and to permit the establishment of Soviet air bases and garrisons on her territory. In return Lithuania obtained the district of Vilna though with a Soviet garrison. The country is of strategic importance for Russia in her relationship with Germany. See map of the Baltic.

LITVINOFF, Maxim, Soviet Russian statesman, was active in the Russian revolutionary movement from 1905, became Soviet Foreign Commissar in 1930, frequently represented the Soviet Union at international conferences and, after 1934

in the League. A Jew and known as an adherent of Soviet collaboration with the democracies, he was discharged in March 1939, when Soviet Russia started negotiations on a pact with Hitler.

LIVING-SPACE, also living-room, the German > *Lebensraum*.

LLOYD GEORGE, Rt. Hon. David, British statesman, born January 17, 1863, at Manchester, of Welsh descent, educated at Llanystymdw and privately, became a solicitor in 1884, Liberal M.P. for Caernarvon in 1890, which seat he has uninterruptedly held since. Was President of the Board of Trade 1905-1908, played a leading part in the Liberal campaign against the Lord's veto in 1911, was Chancellor of the Exchequer 1908-1915. In 1915 he became Minister of Munitions, organised munitions supplies, was made War Secretary and, shortly after, Prime Minister in 1916. Directed the conduct of the war with inexhaustible energy, has often been referred to as "the man who won the war". Coined the phrase about "silver bullets", said: "Germany wins battles, I win the war." Was Prime Minister till 1922, negotiated Irish settlement. His career came to an end with the downfall of the National Government in 1922 and the subsequent decline of the Liberal Party. In 1931 he left the Liberal Party, setting up the Independent Liberal Party, but re-joined forces with the Liberals in 1935. While critical of the Government's appeasement policy 1937-1938, he adopted in October 1939 an attitude which was by many interpreted as a criticism of the Government's firm policy in respect of the prosecution of the war. Since September 1939 he has urged the expansion of British agriculture as a pre-requisite for victory.

LOBBYING, (originally U.S.A.) pursuing a political aim by attempting to influence the votes of representatives by means of personal contacts, usually in the "lobbies", or parts of a legislative building to which the public has access.

LOCARNO, Treaty of, concluded November 16, 1925, between France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Belgium. Germany, France and Belgium undertook to maintain their present mutual frontiers and to abstain from the use of force against each other. Germany recognised the demilitarisation of the Rhineland. Britain and Italy guaranteed the pact, and mutual assistance was provided for in the event of violation. The pact was ended by Hitler in 1936 through the re-occupation of the Rhineland, but Britain's obligations to France, and British and French obligations to Belgium were renewed by special agreements subsequently.

LOW COUNTRIES, a collective name for Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. It has for a long time been part of British policy not to allow an invasion of the Low countries, meaning Belgium and Holland for all practical purposes, in view of their strategical position on the North Sea coast opposite Britain. They could be used to provide air and naval bases for an attack on Britain.

LUXEMBOURG, Grand Duchy of, 999 sq. m., population 300,000, a small neutral country between Germany, Belgium and France. Seceded from the German Confederation in 1866, was neutralised by the Treaty of London in 1867, nevertheless

LUXEMBOURG]

occupied by the Germans in 1914; the independence and integrity of Luxembourg were recognised anew in the treaty of Versailles. The country is important because of its strategic position and its large iron industry (annual output 4 million tons of iron ore, 2 million tons of steel). The ruling dynasty is a branch of the house of Nassau (Grand Duchess Charlotte, born 1896, married to Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parma). About 20% of the population, including the dynasty and a section of the educated classes, speak French, 80% German (mostly in the form of the Luxembourg dialect, strongly interspersed with French words). Practically everybody knows both languages. Luxembourg is an instance of a German population with a French outlook, akin in this respect to the neighbouring Alsatians. Contrary to Alsace, however the language of schools is prevailingly German in Luxembourg. Government is parliamentary; the three main parties, the Catholic-Conservatives (Premier Joseph Bech), the Socialists (leader R. Blum) and the Radical-Liberals (leader Burgomaster Gaston Diederich) form a coalition. Luxembourg is in customs union with Belgium.

MACEDONIA, a region in the heart of the Balkan peninsula with a dominant strategic position. "The master of the Vardar valley is the master of the Balkans". The area included is vaguely defined, and an outlet to the Aegean Sea only at Salonica is sometimes claimed for it. Macedonia has never been a racial, linguistic or political unit. It was ruled by the Turks and was the object of Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek aspirations for a long time. For 100 years the armed bands of four nations have fought each other in these mountains and four nations have tried to assimilate the population. As a result the population has become hopelessly mixed. Various dialects are spoken, neither Serbian nor Bulgarian, and whilst one village speaks an idiom more resembling the one language, the next village speaks a variant of the other tongue. There are also genuine Serbians and Bulgarians, besides Greeks, Turks, Arnauts, Gypsies, Spanish Jews and a people known as Kotsos-Vlachs. The Greeks, on their part, describe the Macedonians as "slavophone (Slav-speaking) Greeks". The total population of Macedonia varies, according to the area reckoned in it, from 2 to 4 millions. See map.

After the second Balkan War of 1913, Macedonia, just freed from the Turkish yoke, was partitioned between Serbia and Greece, while Bulgaria obtained only a small portion around Strumitza. Thenceforth the parts were called "South Serbia" and "North Greece" respectively. After the World War only the still smaller Petrich district was left to Bulgaria. 200,000 Macedonians who had sympathised with the Bulgarians during the War fled to Bulgaria where they became an influential political factor. There was a secret organisation in Macedonia known as the IMRO, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. It had been set up in 1900 with a view to fighting the Turks, and created a net of local committees covering all Macedonia. Hence its followers were called "Komitadji". The organisation, amply supplied with arms by complacent neighbours, terrorised the whole region, collected taxes, held trials and issued death sentences. In the Balkan War the Komitadji sided with the Balkan Allies, but when they failed to obtain freedom afterwards, they turned against Serbians and Greeks. This continued after the World War, the IMRO being supported from Bulgaria with arms, asylum, &c., and at times also with money from Italy. The IMRO raided pro-Serbian villages, murdered opponents, and mutual murder was likewise the only means for the settlement of internal disputes. There were two leaders, Alexandroff and Protogueroff; the former was assassinated in 1924 in the presence of the latter. His successor Mihailoff, advocating complete autonomy for Macedonia, opposed Protogueroff, who was pro-Bulgarian, and Protogueroff was shot in Sofia in 1928 by Mihailoff's men. A chain of mutual sentences of death and bloodshed between the two groups followed, the murderers or, in the Macedonian language, "executioners" pursuing their

MAGINOT LINE]

victims as far as Vienna, Prague, Milan, &c., to shoot them there. In addition, the Macedonians interfered with Bulgarian policy and caused frequent diplomatic trouble. Bulgaria's Macedonian border district was practically ruled by the IMRO, and Yugoslavia barred the entire frontier with barbed wire for a time. In 1932 the Macedonian factions fought a street battle in Sofia under the windows of the Royal Palace, the King looking on. After the Bulgarian change of regime in 1934 (> Bulgaria) the IMRO was suppressed and Mihailoff exiled to Turkey. The Macedonian question smoulders on nevertheless. There is a Macedonian committee at Geneva, publishing a periodical and claiming autonomy for Macedonia. A considerable portion of the Macedonians seem in fact opposed to Yugoslavia and Greece, and desire either a Macedonian State or union with Bulgaria. It has been impossible, however, to ascertain the true feelings of the population as a whole.

MAGINOT LINE, French system of fortifications along the whole eastern frontier of France. Built 1927-1935 under the direction of Maginot, then French War Minister, and constantly strengthened and modernised since. The world's strongest and most modern defence system, the Maginot line consists of thousands of forts, reaches several storeys deep into the earth, contains complete underground towns, railways, power stations, &c. The greatest part of the line is situated in Alsace-Lorraine.

MALAN, Dr. D. F., M.A., D.D., leader of the Nationalist Party in South Africa. Born 1874 at Riebeck West, C.C., educated at Victoria College, Stellenbosch, and Utrecht University, Dutch Reformed Minister, M.P. for Calvinia, Minister of the Interior, Health and Education in the Union Government 1924-1933. Founded Nationalist (Afrikaner) Party, standing for an independent South African Republic outside the British Commonwealth, strongly anti-Semitic and Nazi-sympathising. Opposed the Union's entry into the war, joined forces with Gen. > Hertzog in January 1940 to combat Gen. > Smuts' policy of Imperial co-operation and war against Hitlerism. Dr. Malan's party holds 28 seats (out of 150) in the Union House of Assembly.

MANCHUKUO, the former Chinese province of Manchuria, 460,000 sq. m., population 30,000,000. The province has been the object of Japanese aspirations since 1905 when Japan secured special rights there by the treaty of Pekin. Another treaty in 1915 accorded further exceptional rights to Japan in Manchuria (the "21 demands"). The province was a bone of contention between Japan and Russia, the latter controlling the Manchurian railway leading to Vladivostok, known as the East Chinese Railway. On September 18, 1931, Japan started the occupation of Manchuria, expelled the Chinese garrisons, and on February 18, 1932, Manchuria and the Chinese province of Jehol were proclaimed a new State known as Manchukuo. The last Chinese Emperor of the Manchu dynasty, Pu Yi, deposed as a boy in 1911 and brought up in Japan, was made President of Manchukuo. On March 1, 1934, he took the title of Emperor under the name of Kāng Teh. The Empire of Manchukuo has since been a puppet



THE MAGINOT AND SIEGFRIED LINES

MANDATE]

State under Japanese control. The country is occupied by a large Japanese army and there are Japanese advisers at all government offices. Japan has been busy developing the rich agricultural and mineral resources of Manchukuo, and many Japanese industries have been established there in the last few years. Settlement of Japanese peasants, however, has been hampered by the rough climate. The Russian railway was sold to Manchukuo (meaning Japan for all practical purposes) in March 1935 for £10,000,000. Russia retired from Manchuria, but border clashes at the Russo-Manchurian frontier have been of frequent occurrence, repeatedly developing into actual battles. The State of Manchukuo has not been recognised by China, Russia or any other Power, except Germany, Italy and Spain which recognised it in the days of the > Anti-Comintern Pact.

MANDATE, a system of colonial administration adopted after the last war for the former German colonies and certain ex-Turkish territories. The rights to the territories in question were transferred to the > League of Nations, which entrusted their administration to certain Allied Powers. There are three classes of Mandates: "A" Mandates provide only for temporary aid by the Mandatory Power for the mandated territory until the latter becomes able to govern itself. This kind of Mandate was applied to > Iraq, > Syria and > Palestine. Iraq was released from the Mandate in 1932. "B" Mandates preserve the mandated territory as an entity but place it under the administration of the Mandatory Power. All ex-German colonies in Africa, except > South-West Africa, became "B" Mandates. "C" Mandates imply that the Mandatory Power may administer the mandated area as part of its territory. South-West Africa and the ex-German colonies in Australasia are "C" Mandates.

MANDEL, Georges, French politician, leader of the Independent Republican Party (right-wing, nationalist), Chamber Deputy, 53 years old, influential figure in French politics, although his party has only 11 deputies. Secretary to Clemenceau during and after the Great War, Minister of Colonies since 1938. Sometimes called the "Disraeli of France".

MANIU, Dr.Juliu, Rumanian politician, hailing from Transylvania where he opposed Magyarisation under Hungarian rule. After the World War of 1914-1918 and reunion with Rumania, he founded the National Peasant Party or National Tsarist Party. This progressive and democratic party won a success in the 1928 election; Maniu was premier several times but failed to establish the democratic system of administration which had been his goal. He favoured King Carol's return in 1930. Under the royal dictatorship, his party was dissolved along with the other parties but he continues to be an important personality in Rumanian politics. Despite his dislike of dictatorship he has supported the King in his endeavour to ward off Germany's aspirations in Rumania.

MANN, Heinrich, German political writer, brother of > Thomas Mann, wrote novels with a democratic and socialist tendency under the empire and the republic; was expelled from Germany

under Hitler in 1933, his books being publicly burned. Has lived in France since and written a great deal against Hitlerism. **MANN**, Thomas, famous German novelist, born 1875, winner of a Nobel Prize, wrote *Buddenbrooks*, *The Magic Mountain*, *Joseph in Egypt* and many other works. As a convinced democrat he was forced to flee from Germany after Hitler's advent to power in 1933. His books were publicly burned and he was dispossessed of German citizenship. He acquired Czechoslovak nationality afterwards, lived in France, wrote articles and pamphlets against Nazism; went to the U.S.A. in 1938. Thomas Mann is generally looked upon as the greatest living German writer.

MANNERHEIM, Baron Carl Gustaf Emil, Finnish Field-Marshal, born June 4, 1867, of a family of Swedish descent at Villnäs, Finland, became an officer in the Russian army in 1889, served in the Russo-Japanese War 1904-05, and in the Great War of 1914, became chief of the Russian cavalry in 1917. After the Russian revolution in 1917 Mannerheim took command of the Finnish White Army. Aided by a German expeditionary force, defeated the Russian and Finnish Red troops at the battles of Tammerfors and Viborg. From December 1918 to July 1919 he was Regent of Finland. He stood in the first Finnish presidential election in 1919 against Staelberg, but was defeated. He has lived at Helsinki since. At his suggestion the "Mannerheim Line", the Finnish defence system on the Karelian Isthmus in the south-east of Finland, was constructed. Field-Marshal Mannerheim commanded the Finnish army in the Russo-Finnish war. (>Finland.)

MARXISM, the socialist doctrine following the theories of Karl Marx, born 1818 at Trier, Germany, died 1883 in London. The theory is influenced by German philosophy, in particular by Hegel, and by English classical economics, in particular by Ricardo. Marxism is based on the method of > dialectical materialism. It looks upon economic conditions as the basis of life, political and ideological systems being merely the "super-structure" above them and undergoing changes along with them. The age of the hand-worked weaving-loom produced feudal society, the age of the steam-driven weaving-loom created capitalistic society with all their ideas, religions and principles. This is called the theory of "historical materialism". History is a series of class struggles. In the revolutions from the 17th to the 19th centuries the bourgeois class overthrew the feudal class whose economic system had become too narrow for the advanced technical methods developed meanwhile. Capitalism was its appropriate economic organisation and developed production to heights never known before. But capitalism produces within itself its own grave-digger, the proletariat. This will in turn overthrow the bourgeoisie as soon as the capitalistic organisation of production becomes obsolete in comparison to the requirements of the productive forces developed in the meantime. The insufficiency of capitalistic methods is based on the inner contradictions of capitalism. All value is a product of labour and the virtual value of any article is tantamount to the working time required for its production. But capitalists do not pay the worker the full

equivalent of the time he works for them; they always pay him less (the "theory of exploitation"), retaining the difference as "surplus value" for themselves. The worker must agree to such terms, otherwise his job would be taken by one of the large body of workless (the "industrial reserve army") which is constantly created by technical progress, substituting machines for men, and readily maintained by capitalists so as to bring pressure upon the wages. So wages never keep pace with the progress of production, and this discrepancy between buying-power and output results in periodical crises. Capitalists become ever richer (the "theory of accumulation") and the big ones swallow the small ones (the "theory of > concentration"). Huge combines, equipped for an enormous output, arise, but they use ever more machinery, and ever less hands (the "higher organic composition of capital"), thus increasing permanent unemployment, lowering the wages, and making crises ever deeper. Despite technical progress the life of workers becomes poorer and poorer (the "theory of impoverishment"). The accumulation of wealth on the one side of society is accompanied by the accumulation of misery on the other side. Eventually a small number of big capitalists is confronted with a mass of starving proletarians for whom they cannot provide even a slave's existence. This is the hour of revolution. The proletarians rise and take the machinery of production from capitalistic ownership into their common property (the "expropriation of expropriators") to run it for the common benefit without considerations of individual profit. They will work according to a plan keeping buying-power always in line with production, and there will be no more crises.

Marxism has influenced almost every branch of political and economic thought in the last 60 years. Even its adversaries have adopted a greater or smaller portion of its teaching or method. As time went on, the correctness of Marxian theories was tested by confronting them with actual developments, and various currents sprang up suggesting modifications or additions. "Revisionism," inaugurated by Edward Bernstein, moderate German Socialist, in 1897, claimed that the theory of impoverishment could no longer be maintained as the situation of workers had visibly improved. "Reformism" said that Marx had been unable to foresee the improvements which could be effected in working conditions by strong trade unions and social legislation enforced by socialist parties. Post-war reformism claimed that "organised capitalism" and State control would mitigate the crises. > Lenin and the Communists, on the other hand, clung to orthodox Marxism, saying that the improvement related only to a limited "Labour aristocracy" while the impoverishment of the broad masses was going on. Leninism has become a special school of Marxism. The great economic slump of 1930, the rise of German National-Socialism and developments in Soviet Russia have been keeping the discussion on Marxism in flux.

MASARYK, Thomas Garrigue, Czech statesman and philosopher, 1850-1937, founder and first President of the Czechoslovak Republic. Born March 7, 1850, at Goeding (South Moravia),

the son of a coachman. Graduated Ph.D. at Vienna University in 1872, became a college teacher in Vienna in 1878. Married American girl, Charlotte Garrigue, of Boston. Became Professor of Philosophy at the Czech University in Prague in 1882. Founded a progressive Czech party in 1889, and was elected to the Vienna Parliament in 1891. Claimed the federalisation of the Austrian Empire to which the Czech provinces belonged at that time. Opposed Austria's pro-German and anti-Slav foreign policy.

When the Great War of 1914 broke out Masaryk widened his programme to the complete destruction of the Austrian Empire. In 1915 he went abroad to organise the Czech fight against Austria. He was subsequently Professor of Slav Research at King's College in London, lecturing on "The problem of the small peoples". In 1916 he went to France to convince the French Government of the necessity of disintegrating Austria. Proceeded to Russia in 1917, after the March Revolution, to form the Czechoslovak legions. In March 1918 he went to the United States to persuade President Wilson, who had previously favoured the preservation of the Austrian Empire on a federative basis, to acquiesce in the dissolution of Austria. As a result, the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris, acting under Masaryk's chairmanship, was recognised by the Allied Powers as the Czechoslovak Government. On October 18, 1918, Thomas G. Masaryk, standing on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, proclaimed the independence of Czechoslovakia. Came home as first President of the Republic; was re-elected three times, in 1920, 1928 and 1934 respectively. Enjoyed almost legendary authority among the Czech people. Resigned his office December 14, 1935, owing to bad health. Died September 14, 1937, aged 87.

Masaryk, as a philosopher, was an outspoken rationalist and humanist. He emphasised practical ethics, reflecting the influence of Anglo-Saxon philosophers, while he was critical of German idealistic philosophy and Marxism. Politically he stood for democracy and a Western orientation of his country. He was a member of the Bohemian Evangelic Church of Brothers.

The following sentences are characteristic of Masaryk's creed:

"Democracy is discussion—The States keep alive through the ideals which gave rise to their existence—Jesus, not Caesar!—Excitement is no programme—History teaches that all States perished through chauvinism, whether it was racial, political, religious or class chauvinism—Revolution is legitimate as a means of self-defence. Its necessity arises when all other means are exhausted—Humanity is not pacifism at all costs."

MATCHEK, Dr., Croatian leader in Yugoslavia. (> Croats, > Yugoslavia.)

MEMEL TERRITORY, an area on the North-Eastern border of Germany, covering 1,000 sq. m., with a population of 150,000, prevailingly German, the rest Lithuanian. The Memelland with its seaport, Memel, was detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles to give Lithuania an outlet to the Baltic Sea. The territory was first placed under the control of the Conference of Ambassadors representing the Allied Powers.

MENNE]

In the beginning of 1923, Lithuania annexed it. The Memel Statute, set up subsequently, recognised the annexation but provided for a large measure of local self-government. The signatories to the Statute were Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Lithuania. In the following years there was constant friction between Germans and Lithuanians in the territory. After the establishment of the National-Socialist régime in Germany, the tendency for reunion with Germany became more and more outspoken among the German Memellanders. In 1935 the Nazified German Party secured a large majority in the Memel Diet, and henceforth secession from Lithuania was systematically prepared. The Lithuanian Government tried in vain to forestall it, first by measures of repression, then by great concessions to the Germans in Memel. At the elections for the Diet in December 1938, the German Party obtained 87% of the vote. Immediately after the seizure of Czechoslovakia, on March 22, 1939, Germany presented Lithuania with an ultimatum to surrender Memel territory. Lithuania gave way, and the territory was re-incorporated in Germany, a free zone being secured for Lithuania in the port of Memel.

MENNE, Bernhard, exiled German writer, born 1901 in Fredeburg, Westphalia, was editor-in-chief of the independent Socialist daily *Welt am Abend* at Essen, left Germany in 1933, edited a daily at Prague, lives in London now. Wrote an important book on > Krupp, the German cannon king (English and American editions, 1939), was dispossessed of German nationality by Nazis.

MENSHEVIKS, the moderate Russian Socialists who opposed > Bolshevism after the split in the Russian Socialist Party in 1903, and particularly in the Russian revolution in 1917. They had been a minority (in Russian *menshinstvo*) at the party congress preceding the split, hence the name.

MENZIES, Robert Gordon, Prime Minister of Australia, born 1894, educated at Melbourne, barrister-at-law, M.P. for the United Australian Party (>Australia) since 1928. Was Minister of Industry in the Lyons Government 1928-1929, held various offices in the State Government of Victoria, and became Commonwealth Prime Minister in 1939. Menzies has written several books on constitutional questions.

METAXAS, General Joannis, Greek Prime Minister, born 1871 on the island of Kephalonia, studied at Berlin Military College, acquired a preference for German life and culture, opposed Greece's entry into the war on the Allied side in 1917, was exiled, came back in 1920, was active as a monarchist, helped King George II to return in 1935, seized dictatorship in 1936. (> Greece.)

MEXICO, United States of, federal republic in the south-west of North America, 780,000 sq. m., population 16,500,000, Spanish-speaking. Of the population 2,500,000 are white, 4,500,000 Indians and 9,500,000 of mixed race. There are 28 States and a federal two-chamber Congress. The President is elected directly by the people for a term of six years. Agriculture, mining and oil production are the principal industries. Mexico has been in a state of permanent revolution since the

resignation of the great President Don Porfirio Diaz in 1911: (Diaz had ruled since 1876.) After many changing régimes General Lázaro Cárdenas was elected President on November 30, 1934, in succession to President Calles. Both came from the National Revolutionary Party, a radical, nationalist and socialist party, influenced by communist and syndicalist thought. Calles was exiled to the U.S.A. after a factional dispute, and Cárdenas embarked on a programme of far-reaching social reforms. He established a six-year plan for nationalisation of railways and industry, division of land, general economic and social improvement. Most spectacular was the expropriation of the oil industry. The oil workers had enforced a substantial increase in wages with the aid of the Government in 1937, but the oil companies, considering it unbearable, protracted fulfilment. The Government retaliated by expropriating the oil properties on March 13, 1938, and placing them under a National Oil Administration under co-management of the oil workers' union. The oilfields had belonged to British, Dutch and American companies, the largest being the Mexican Eagle Oil Co. of the Royal Dutch-Shell group. Serious diplomatic dispute was the sequel, and Mexico discontinued diplomatic relations with Great Britain. The oil companies were offered compensation in deferred payments over ten years, but the dispute over the amount to be paid (the companies valuing the oilfields at \$450 millions, the Government only at \$200 millions) is still going on. The sugar industry was also expropriated for a great part, and so was the railway system. The latter was placed under the administration of the railwaymen's union. The expropriation campaign was carried on under nationalist watchwords as well as under socialist ones, the expropriated industries having almost entirely belonged to foreign capital. ("Freedom from British and American oil imperialism.") As for the land division, the plan is to break up all estates over 2,000 acres. About 5,000,000 acres have been given to 500,000 peasants under Cárdenas, but 2,500,000 are still landless. The redistributed land becomes the property of a village commune known as *ejido* which gives it in individual lots to smallholders. They may keep it in hereditary tenure but lose it when they do not cultivate it for more than two years. Collectivism is a tradition among Mexican peasantry. Lack of means and still more the obstruction of conservative provincial governors have slowed down the land reform. Other reforms of Cárdenas' include women's suffrage and educational improvements. He has also bettered the Government's relations to the Roman Catholic Church which had been very strained since the anti-clerical actions of preceding governments. Cárdenas was also the first to send arms to republican Spain during the civil war. Furthermore he granted Trotsky asylum in Mexico.

Various uprisings against Cárdenas were easily put down by the President. His chief opponents are Calles and right-wing Yueopicio, governor of Sonora. In Congress there is, however, no opposition in the usual parliamentary sense. The National Revolutionary Party was widened to the broader Partido de la Revolución Mexicana in March 1938 and controls

MODUS VIVENDI]

the whole of Congress. Cárdenas is backed by the powerful Trade Union Federation under Lombardo Toledano.

MODUS VIVENDI, Latin term denoting "way of living", an informal agreement between the Pope and a Government for the regulation of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical affairs in any country. It is a substitute for a > concordat. The term is also used for other provisional and informal agreements in political life.

MOLOTOFF, Vyatcheslav Mikhailovich, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, born 1890 at Kukardi, Gov. Vyatka, became a political writer, joined the Bolshevik party in 1907, assumed the name of Molotoff in 1909, his actual name being Skryabin. Called to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party in 1924, appointed to his present position in 1930. Also in charge of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs since. > Litvinoff's dismissal in 1938.

MONGOLIA, INNER, about 400,000 sq. m., population only 250,000, a territory to the north-west of China, to be distinguished from Outer Mongolia (> next article). Inner Mongolia is nominally a province of China, inhabited chiefly by nomad Mongolians ruled by a number of Princes. Since 1932 the territory has been under Japanese influence, and the Japanese plan seems to be to organise a puppet State here along the lines of > Manchukuo. The area is of strategic importance.

MONGOLIA, OUTER, official name Mongolian People's Republic, 1,500,000 sq. m., population only 550,000, capital Ulan Bator (Red Horseman's City), formerly known as Urga. The country was under Chinese suzerainty until 1911 when it declared independence. It was ruled by a monkish government under a Hutuktu or Chief Lama. In 1924 the Mongolian People's Party, supported by Soviet Russia, carried out a revolution and established a republic. Outer Mongolia has virtually been a Russian dependency since. China continues to claim suzerainty, which was nominally recognised in the Russo-Chinese treaty of 1924 but is of a theoretical nature. Outer Mongolia has a treaty of alliance with Soviet Russia, and attacks by the Japanese on Mongolian territory, made from Manchukuo in recent years have been repulsed by Russian and Mongolian troops in concert. The country is of high strategic importance for Russia as it lies on the flank of Siberia. There is a small but modern Mongolian army. The Constitution is along Soviet lines; the Great Huruldan, a sort of Soviet Congress, elects a Little Huruldan or Executive Committee which chooses the Government. As the population still mainly lives as nomads on cattle-breeding, there is no question of socialism proper. The Mongolians are a people distinct from the Chinese and speak a language akin to the Turki group. See maps of China and the Soviet Union.

MONROE DOCTRINE, a principle of American policy declining any European intervention in political affairs of the American continent. When in 1823 the Russian Government, then still in possession of Alaska, attempted to exclude all but Russian ships from the north-western coast of America, and at the same time the reactionary "Holy Alliance" of Prussia, Austria and Russia, having just quelled the Spanish revolution con-

templated intervention in the newly-created South American republics, President Monroe declared in a message dated December 2, 1823, "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects of future colonisation by any European Powers. . . . With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different from that of America. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." The British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, had suggested a joint Anglo-American declaration against intervention in South America before. The principle grew in popularity in the U.S.A. in the 'forties and 'fifties during the controversies over West and Central America, but the French intervention in Mexico in 1860 challenged it seriously. The American Civil War hampered the application of the doctrine for some time, but after the war the United States insisted on it energetically, and France had to withdraw. Once firmly established, the doctrine was subsequently interpreted in an extended sense. In the 'eighties it was applied to the construction of the Panama Canal, and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, which had provided for joint Anglo-American control of the Canal, was replaced by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty recognising exclusive American control. President Cleveland enforced arbitration on the strength of the doctrine in the frontier dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela. After heavy U.S. misgivings during the Anglo-German-Italian blockade of Venezuela in 1902 (carried out to enforce payment of debts) the doctrine was widened under President Theodore Roosevelt to the theory of preventive action by the U.S. to forestall European intervention. American control of customs in San Domingo was the first result, and the doctrine has been repeatedly invoked since in connection with further U.S. intervention in the Caribbean Sea. The doctrine is less popular in the Latin-American States which suspect it of being an instrument of U.S. hegemony and economic penetration. Anyway, the Monroe Doctrine is not international law, but a national policy of the U.S.

MONTRÉUX, CONVENTION OF. > Dardanelles.

the leading private bank in the world. The house stood in the background of the reparations policy, directed American money-lending to Europe 1923-1929, controlled the money markets of the world, built up a commanding industrial and railroad business in the U.S., including a \$600,000,000 public utility system (United and Alleghany Corporations). Total issues through Morgan syndicates 1919-1929 reached \$5,000,000,000. Partners of the firm were associated with the Republican Party. The net worth of the bank, which had been \$30,000,000 in 1914, reached \$118,000,000 in 1929. The great depression of 1930 and the subsequent New Deal policy, especially the Banking Act, the Security Exchange Commission and the Public Utility Holding Companies Act, considerably affected the position of Morgan & Co. The Democratic Roosevelt Administration subjected the firm to four Senate investigations and the scandal connected with a former leader of the New York Stock Exchange, R. Whitney brother of a Morgan partner, was a blow to the prestige of the house. As a result of all these adverse factors, the firm's net worth was reduced to \$44,000,000 by the end of 1938.

The house of Morgan is no longer what it was, but it remains a powerful institution. Underwriting business was transferred to the new firm of Morgan, Stanley & Co. in 1935, set up by former partners of J. P. Morgan & Co., as the Banking Act forbade this important line of business to the parent firm. The new house became immediately the first issuing house in America and handled 24% of all American capital issues in 1938. The parent firm keeps strong positions in the National City Bank of New York, the Guaranty Trust Company and other banks, in the U.S. Steel Corporation, the General Motors Corporation, the Du Pont Chemical combine and other leading industrial concerns, and continues to exert considerable political influence at home and abroad. The firm has 13 partners, of whom J. P. Morgan, aged 70, has a 25% and his son, Junius S. Morgan, jr., a 5% holding. Actual leading personality in the firm is Thomas W. Lamont; important other partners are R. Lessingwell and G. Whitney. The house has branches in London (Morgan, Grenfell & Co.) and Paris (Morgan & Cie); the London senior partner, E. C. Grenfell, M.P., is a director of the Bank of England, and another partner, Vivian Hugh-Smith, was made Lord Bicester in 1938. Good relations with the British Government are a tradition in Morgan policies. Morgan partners have recently voiced democratic and anti-dictatorial opinions.

In February 1940 it was announced that the house of Morgan would be incorporated as a trust company under its present name as from April 1. The change was described as "largely technical". All the members of the firm will be directors of the trust company, which will have a paid-in capital of \$25,000,000, and a paid in surplus of \$25,000,000.

MOROCCO, Sultanate of, approximately 213,000 sq. m. (the boundaries to the east and south are not exactly determined), population 7,200,000. Morocco, situated in the north-western corner of Africa, was the object of rivalry between various

European Powers for a long time. In 1904 Britain acknowledged Morocco as a French sphere of influence in return for France recognising the British position in Egypt. This aroused Germany's anger and the Kaiser paid a spectacular visit to the Moroccan port of Tangier in 1905 in order to stress German claims to Morocco. (The first Morocco Crisis.) The large Mannesmann steelworks at Duesseldorf, Rhineland, were interested in ore prospecting in Morocco at that time. At the subsequent conference of Algeciras, however, Germany found herself isolated, and the Algeciras Convention of April 7, 1906, laid down the principle of the > "open door" in Morocco. After a vain bid for Franco-German economic collaboration in 1909 France proceeded to the occupation of Fez in 1911. Germany retorted by sending the gunboat *Panther* to the Moroccan port of Agadir (the "panther's jump to Agadir") and the second Morocco Crisis broke out. Lloyd George declared at that time that Britain would not tolerate Germany's establishing herself in western North Africa. War seemed imminent, but the crisis was settled by a Franco-German agreement whereby Germany recognised French control over Morocco in return for appreciable territorial concessions in the French Congo. The formal establishment of the French protectorate over Morocco followed.

Since 1912 the country has been divided into a Spanish and a French zone, and the neutral Tangier zone was added in 1923. All three zones are nominally under the sovereignty of the Sultan (at present Sidi Mohammed of the Sherifian dynasty) but in fact governed by France and Spain respectively, and in the case of Tangier by an international body. Almost the whole of Morocco, 200,000 sq. m., belongs to the French zone, which also comprises the three alternating capitals, Fez, Marrakesh and Rabat. The Sultan's power is nominally absolute. All decrees must, however, be promulgated by the French Resident-General, and the administration is actually in the hands of the French who maintain garrisons throughout the country. The Resident-General is responsible to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris.

The Spanish zone is nominally governed by a *Khalifa*, appointed by the Sultan on nomination by the Spanish Government. In fact, the Spanish Resident exercises all power. The Spanish zone, a coast strip of only 13,000 sq. m., is partly inhabited by the warlike Rif Kabyles who fought the Spanish and French from 1924 to 1927 under Abd el Krim. The uprising was quelled only after the arrival of strong French reinforcements and Abd el Krim has been kept prisoner on a French island since. Spanish Morocco was also the basis of General Franco's military uprising against the Spanish republic in 1936, and Moroccan troops known as "Moros" played a great part on the nationalist side. Spanish Morocco is of great military importance as it controls the entry to the Mediterranean Sea, the now fortified port of Ceuta being situated opposite Gibraltar.

The Tangier zone, covering only 225 sq. m. with 60,000 inhabitants, is governed in accordance with the Tangier

MOSCOW TRIALS]

Convention of December 18, 1923, concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain, joined by Italy in 1928. The Convention was automatically renewed in 1936 for another twelve years. The Tangier zone, important because of its port, is placed under the administration of an international assembly of 27 members, presided over by the Sultan's nominal representative known as the Mendub. The zone is demilitarised and neutralised.

Morocco is desert for a great part but presumed to be rich in ores of various kinds. German interest in this region seemed to have reviyed during the Spanish civil war. The Moroccan population consists of Berbers, prevailingly speaking the "Moghrebi" variant of Arabic, partly also their own Berber languages. There have been signs of Panarabism and Panislamism among the population in the last few years.

MOSCOW TRIALS, a series of spectacular trials of prominent Communists held in Moscow in 1936 and 1937. In August 1936 a group of opposition Communists, headed by Zinovieff, ex-chairman of the Communist International, and Kamenieff was tried for an alleged conspiracy against Stalin. The prosecutor maintained that exiled Trotsky had in common with the prisoners been negotiating with the German Nazis with a view to obtaining help against Stalin in return for the cession of the Ukraine. No evidence to that effect was produced but all the prisoners pleaded guilty, competing in amazing confessions of their respective misdeeds, and were executed. In February 1937 a second group called the Trotskyite-and-Right-Wing Bloc was tried, including Rykoff, ex-successor to Lenin in the presidency of the Soviet Government, and Bukharin, former economic theoretician of the party, on similar charges and again convicted on the strength of confessions and self-accusations only, many executions following. In May 1937 a third trial, secret this time, was held of Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other high generals of the Red Army on a charge of conspiring with the Command of the German Army regarding action against Stalin and the Soviet Union, and they were shot after having, in the official version, pleaded guilty *in camera*. Virtually the trials were part of a general party purge which resulted in the execution of many other opposition communists.

MOSLEY, Sir Oswald E., 6th Baronet, leader of the British Union, a British political movement of the Fascist type. Mosley was born on November 16, 1896, educated at Winchester and Sandhurst, served in France during the World War, became M.P. for the Harrow division of Middlesex (Conservative 1918-1922, Independent 1922-1924), joined the Labour Party in 1924, was M.P. for Smethwick 1925-1931, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the second Macdonald Administration 1929-1930. Left the Labour Party in 1931 to establish a movement of the Fascist type. The programme of Sir Oswald's British Union provides for the leadership principle in government. British Union seeks power by the vote of the people at a general election, but once in control it will rule by a General Powers Bill. M.P.'s of British Union will

preside over local authorities to be given "executive tasks" instead of the "purely talkative role" of M.P.'s under the present system. The jurisdiction of local authorities will be widened. The present system of parliamentary democracy is denounced as a system of the rule of financiers ("financial democracy"), and the existing geographical franchise is to be replaced by an occupational franchise to secure a "technical parliament". The principle of people's control over the Government, expressed by votes held at regular intervals, is recognised, and the movement professes loyalty to the Crown, but opposition parties are to be eliminated. The House of Lords is to be abolished and to be replaced by a Second Chamber of representatives of a National Council of Corporations and other appointed members. Freedom of the Press will be restricted by prosecution of papers "for publication of news which is not true", and freedom of speech will be confined to the occupational Corporations. In economics the movement declares its opposition to socialism as well as to "the dictatorship of finance". It opposes foreign lending and advocates a reduction of international trade in favour of development of the home market and of Empire developments. ("Greater Britain.") Jews will be declared foreigners, and those "who have placed the interests of Jewry before those of Britain" must leave Britain. In foreign policy, British Union admires Hitler and stands for British disinterest in East Europe. ("Mind Britain's business.") It advocates the return of the former German colonies. It opposes the present war and demands peace with Hitler, denying intentions for world domination or anti-British policies on the part of Germany, and claiming that this war has been started in the interests of "international Jewry" and finance. The platform and organisation of the movement resemble the German (and to some extent the Italian) model. Members wear black shirts, use the Nazi-Fascist salute with listed arms, and sing the Horst Wessel Song with an English text. Their badge is a thunderbolt within a circle.

Sir Oswald E. Mosley was married to a daughter of Lord Curzon; she died in 1933. Now he is married to a daughter of Lord Redesdale. He has two children. His British Union is not represented in Parliament.

MOST-FAVoured NATION CLAUSE, a frequent clause in trade treaties whereby each signatory undertakes to extend to the other signatory automatically any tariff reduction or other favour granted to any third country in future. The idea is to exclude preferences for any particular country. British Imperial Preference is exempted from the most-favoured

MUFTI]

tons in 1938. The Mosul oilfields are connected with the Palestinian port of Haifa through a pipeline.

MUFTI, Grand, of Jerusalem, a high Islamic official and Arab national leader. The name of the Mufti is Haj Emin Effendi el Husseini. He is 43, was educated in Cairo, Jerusalem and Constantinople, and succeeded his brother as Mufti in 1921. Became president of the Supreme Moslem Council in 1923, presided over a Moslem congress at Jerusalem in 1931. During the World War he had supported the British against the Turks but turned away from them over the question of Jewish colonisation of > Palestine. He has been the leader of Arab opposition against Jewish immigration for 20 years and the driving power of all Arab actions against Britons and Zionists. Was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, afterwards released. His "Palestine Arab Party", briefly referred to as the Mufti's party, is the largest Arab party in Palestine. Backed by his high religious office as Islamic custodian of Jerusalem, he has endeavoured to make the Palestine question a Panislamic problem. Became president of the Arab Higher Committee in Jerusalem in 1937, was banned from Palestine together with other Arab leaders and has lived in Syria since. From Syria he has continued to direct Arab actions and also the Arab delegation to the Palestine Conference in London in February 1939.

MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS, agreements to which more than two countries are parties, as opposed to bi-lateral agreements, concluded between two parties only.

MUNICH AGREEMENT, the agreement between Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy, signed at Munich on September 29, 1938, and providing for the cession to Germany of the Sudeten-German districts of > Czechoslovakia. Hitler had launched the demand for the cession of this area in August and mobilised the German army to invade Czechoslovakia. Prime Minister > Chamberlain flew to Berchtesgaden, Hitler's residence, to dissuade Hitler from war. The result was a recommendation by Britain and France to Czechoslovakia to agree to the cession to Germany of all districts containing over 50 per cent. Germans. Chamberlain flew to Hitler a second time, meeting him at Godesberg, Rhineland, and Hitler widened his demands to the cession of a much greater zone than that demanded initially, and a plebiscite in another area. Chamberlain flew back, and the Western Powers recommended Czechoslovakia to mobilise. France and Britain, too, mobilised, and war seemed inevitable when Hitler, on the advice of Mussolini, suggested another conference to be held at Munich. Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini and Hitler met at Munich on September 28. Hitler's demands were modified but insignificantly, yet the Western Powers accepted them this time. All the areas Hitler wanted were ceded to him without a plebiscite. The German army marched into Czechoslovakia on October 1. The agreement provided for a guarantee of the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia by all signatories. Chamberlain and Hitler signed a joint declaration ruling out war between Britain and Germany. In Britain and France the agreement was initially hailed as bringing "peace for our time", but

severe criticism was raised before long. The agreement was described as surrender. Anyway, it was the last stage of the > appeasement policy. Hitler broke the agreement through his seizure of what was left of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, and this was the turning-point in British and French policy towards Germany, resistance to aggression taking the place of appeasement.

MUSSERT, Anton Adriaan, Dutch National-Socialist leader, born 1894 at Werkendam, Holland, was chief engineer for waterways, Province of Utrecht, 1927-1934; founded National Committee against the Dutch-Belgian treaty 1925, National-Socialist Movement in the Netherlands 1931. The latter resembles, and sympathises with, German National-Socialism; uniforms are worn and the swastika is used. Mussert's party holds 4 seats in the Dutch Chamber. It fosters > "Dietseh" ideas for a Greater Holland.

MUSSOLINI, Benito, Italian dictator, founder of Fasism, born July 29, 1883, at Predappio, Province of Forlì, son of a blacksmith, became a Socialist, went into exile in Switzerland in 1902. Returned to Italy, advocated radical, anti-reformist course in the Socialist party, was entrusted with the direction of the party organ *Avanti* in 1912. Turned nationalist on the outbreak of war in 1914 and favoured Italy's intervention, was expelled from the Socialist party therefor. Created his own paper, *Popolo d'Italia*, in November 1914, led interventionists, joined the Italian army as a private when Italy entered the war in May 1915, reached the rank of corporal, was seriously wounded in February 1917, returned to the *Popolo d'Italia* after his recovery. When Italy was disappointed after the war at the relatively small results which victory had brought to her and when left-wing radicalism spread in the country, Mussolini formed the first *Fascio di combattimento* at Milan with only 40 members on March 23, 1919, with a programme of nationalism and anti-communism. Polling only 4,000 votes in 1919, the movement grew rapidly afterwards, concluded an electoral agreement with Giolitti's Liberals in 1921, reached 38 seats in the Chamber but refused to enter the Government. The movement had assumed the name of > Fascism in the meantime. The political situation in Italy became rather chaotic in 1922; radical socialists grasped at power and occupied factories, while the authority of the Government declined. After a Fascist Party congress at Naples 40,000 Fasists marched to the capital on October 28, 1922 (the "March on Rome") and Mussolini, called *Duce* (Leader) by his followers, demanded the power. The weak Facti Government gave way and the King appointed Mussolini Prime Minister. The first Mussolini Government contained a few Right-Liberals and Catholic Clericals along with Fasists. The Socialists offered some resistance which was broken by the Fasists. In 1923 Mussolini decreed an electoral reform to the effect that two-thirds of the seats should go to the party obtaining at least one-quarter of the vote. Following this the election of April 1924 resulted in a large Fasist majority. On June 10, 1924, the Socialist leader Matteotti was assassinated.

MUSSOLINI]

by extreme Fascists. This caused a crisis. The parliamentary opposition, including Socialists, Communists, Liberals and Clericals, walked out of the Chamber and boycotted the Government. (The "Aventinians", from the *Monte Aventino* where they gathered.) In 1925 Mussolini carried out a *coup d'état* securing dictatorial power for him. The opposition parties were suppressed in 1926, their parliamentary mandates cancelled and their leaders persecuted; many of them fled abroad.

The following years were devoted to the internal organisation of Italy along Fascist lines (> Fascism), nationalist education of the people, the strengthening of the Italian army and navy, and economic development. Order and national efficiency, though at the expense of liberty, made substantial progress in Italy. The foreign policy of Italy remained unchanged even after the advent to power in Germany of Hitler's > National-Socialist Party which was an imitation of Fascism and had from the outset maintained friendly relations with the Italian Fascist Party. As late as 1934 Mussolini formed the > Stresa Front in common with the Western Powers; he derided the Nazis' racial fervour and declared that Anti-Semitism was foreign to the Italian people. When the Nazis attempted to seize Austria in July he mobilised the Italian army along the Austrian frontier against Hitler.

In 1935, however, Mussolini embarked on the policy of conquering > Abyssinia. Half-hearted sanctions taken by the League of Nations proved unable to prevent Italy from conquering Abyssinia, but alienated her from the Western Powers and drove Mussolini to join forces with Hitler in the > Axis policy. After the conquest of Abyssinia Mussolini proclaimed the *Impero* and the King of Italy assumed the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. Collaboration with Nazi Germany was deepened subsequently, in particular in the > Spanish Civil War. Mussolini acquiesced in the annexation by Germany of Austria in 1938, received Hitler with great honours in Rome in May and visited Berlin in August. Contrary to his former views, he adopted anti-Jewish legislation so as to placate Hitler. He supported Hitler diplomatically during the Czechoslovak crisis in September 1938 and was a party to the > Munich agreement. In March 1939 he ordered the seizure of > Albania and soon after he put forward demands concerning the French possessions of > Djibouti and > Tunis, and Italian participation in the administration of the > Suez Canal. In May 1939 a formal military alliance was concluded with Germany. When Germany proceeded to war at the beginning of September, however, Italy remained neutral. Mussolini had tried in vain to mediate in the Polish conflict.

Besides the Premiership which he exercises under the title of "Capo del governo" (head of the Government) Mussolini holds the offices of Minister of the Interior, War, Navy, Air and Italian East Africa. He is married to Donna Rachele and has two sons, Vittorio and Bruno, and a daughter, Edda, married to Count > Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister.

NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY, an off shoot of the Labour Party formed by J. R. Macdonald and his supporters when they decided in 1931 to remain in the National Government contrary to the policy of the party. National Labour has co-operated with the Conservatives in the Government since, upholding moderate Labour views. The party holds 8 seats in the House of Commons and polled 340,000 votes in the 1935 election. It numbers well-known politicians within its ranks, such as Malcolm Macdonald, Earl de la Warr, Harold Nicolson and Stephen King-Hall.

NATIONAL LABOUR RELATIONS BOARD, supreme authority in the U.S.A. to deal with labour disputes. (> Wagner Labour Relations Act.)

NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY, a section of the > Liberal Party which seceded from the latter when the Liberals left the National Government in 1933. Its policies have hardly been different from those of the Conservatives with whom it co-operates in the Government. The party obtained 866,000 votes and 33 seats in the House of Commons in the 1935 election. It has several prominent Government politicians in its ranks, such as Sir John Simon, Lord Runciman, L. Hore-Belisha and Lord Montrose.

NRA, also **NIRA**, initials of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the starting-point of the > New Deal policy in the U.S.A. The NRA was enacted by Congress on June 13, 1933, and together with its agricultural corollary, the AAA (> Agricultural Adjustment Act), which had been adopted on May 12, 1933, it placed far-reaching control of industry and agriculture in the hands of the President. Essential parts of the NRA were declared invalid by the U.S. Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, and part of the AAA on January 6, 1936, but the important economic institutions created on the basis of these Acts have remained in existence and exerted great influence on American developments.

NATIONAL-SOCIALISM, German nationalist movement led by Adolf > Hitler. The beginnings of National-Socialism go back to 1912 when an organisation calling itself the German National-Socialist Labour Party was set up at Carkbriid, Sudetenland (belonging to Austria at that time), by a group of nationalist Sudeten-Germans. It founded a branch at Vienna but gained no importance. No direct connection of this first National-Socialist Party with Hitler has been traced. Hitler's party was founded by a German worker named Drexler, at Munich, Bavaria, in 1919 under the name of German Labour Party out of a "Workers' Committee" put up during the war by the late German Fatherland Party of Admiral Tirpitz. The party remained confined to the site of a dining-club assembling in the back-room of an inn at Munich until Hitler joined it as member No. 7 and assumed its leadership. Hitler re-named the party National-Socialist German Labour Party and quickly enlarged it by efficient propaganda.

The founder, Drexler, was ousted, founded a small rival party and fell into oblivion. The National-Socialist parties of Munich, Vienna and Carlsbad held a conference at Munich in 1920 but no closer co-operation was established for the time being. A programme adopted in the same year contained the following 25 points:

1. Union of all Germans.
2. Abolition of the treaty of Versailles.
3. Land and territory for food production and colonisation.
4. Only persons of German blood are members of the nation. Jews are excluded.
5. Non-members of the nation are aliens.
6. No party considerations in filling Government posts, only character and capability to decide.
7. The State to promote the well-being of the people.
8. Foreign nationals to be excluded from Germany and non-German immigration to be prevented.
9. All citizens equal in rights and duties.
10. Every citizen to work for the general good.
11. Abolition of unearned income.
12. Confiscation of war profits.
13. Nationalisation of trusts and combines.
14. Elimination of wholesale trade profits.
15. Old-age pensions and social insurance.
16. Protection of small traders; closing of department stores.
17. Land reform.
18. Extermination of criminals against the nation, of profiteers, and usurers.
19. Substitution of German law for Roman law.
20. Nationalist education.
21. Improving the nation's physique.
22. Conscript army.
23. Press control.
24. Liberty for all religions in the State so far as they are not a danger to it.
25. Strong central power in Germany.

Out of this mixture of nationalist and socialist slogans only the nationalist set has been fulfilled. Since the party came to power in 1933 (> Hitler), no attempt at systematic socialism in the traditional sense has been made. But the economic system of Germany under Nazi rule ("Nazi" is a short name for National-Socialists) has not remained purely capitalist either. Private property was maintained, no trust was nationalised, and even concentration of capital in a few hands proceeded; but economic initiative and control passed entirely to the State. This was not the result of preference for socialist economy; on the contrary, the Nazis declared at the outset their dislike of planned economy and reliance on private enterprise. But political necessities, such as quick reduction of unemployment, rapid rearmament and preparation of industries for the war, placed the initiative more and more in the hands of the Government. Even prior to the outbreak of the present war the German economic system strongly recalled the "war socialism" of 1914-1918. The initial strong influence of big industrialists on government seems to have substantially diminished, and the term "brown bolshevism" (the Nazis wear brown shirts and uniforms) has been coined for the Nazi system. Government offices, distributing orders and regulating the allotment of raw materials, virtually direct production.

The Nazi Party, the only permitted political association in Germany, is based on the leadership principle: Hitler is the Leader, has absolute power and nominates all the sub-leaders. The party members have no rights relating to the conduct

of policy but only the duty of obeying. There are about 3,000,000 members in the party. Besides there are subsidiary organisations of the Nazi Party of a compulsory character such as the German Labour Front (leader > Ley) to which all workers and other employees in Germany must belong, and the > Hitler Youth comprising practically all German youths. The party has its own troops, the > SA and the > SS, besides a motorised corps and a flying corps. No accounts are published of the finance of the party or its subsidiaries although they handle milliards of marks. A party congress is normally held at Nuremberg every year.

The original basis of the party lay in the middle class which the Nazis promised to save from the ruin threatened by the growth of big enterprises and the economic crisis. This applied in particular to small traders, artisans, &c. While these professions have made an increased turnover in connection with the economic upswing caused by rearmament, they have on the other hand suffered from extremely heavy taxation and rigorous price control. The idea of saving the most needy section of the middle class has been officially abandoned; the Nazi Government's policy for the last three years has been to close down "superfluous" small shops and to employ the owners as workers in factories. About 700,000 artisans and shopkeepers have been earmarked for this process.

The former enthusiasm of the German middle class for Nazism seems to have waned in the light of experience. As abandonment of party membership is a dangerous thing, and on the other side the acquisition of membership is practically compulsory for certain classes of persons in Germany, it is difficult to estimate how many holders of membership cards are voluntary and whole-hearted, and how many are only compulsory, indifferent or even secretly antagonistic members.

The Nazi Party professes extreme nationalism and racialism on the basis of the > "Aryan" principle. Members must prove that there were no Jews among their ancestors back to the year 1800. Christianity is denounced as "Jewish" and "non-German", being widely superseded by a materialistic creed of blood and race and sometimes even by neo-paganism reverting to the worship of the ancient Teutonic gods. The spirit and organisation of the party are militaristic. Democracy and humanity are systematically derided while war, force and blood are exalted. A somewhat vague confession of "national community" and the commonplace principle "Common interest before self-interest" represent the socialist proportion of the party creed. Generally speaking, the platform of the party is identical with the programme set forth by Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf*. History and politics of the party are so closely interwoven with the personal career of Hitler that further information should be looked for in the special article on him. For the Nazi theory see also > Rosenberg.

The Nazi Party has displayed considerable activities abroad. So far as they related to German minorities in other countries

NAVAL TREATY OF LONDON]

they could still be brought into line with the strict doctrine that Nazism was for the use of Germans only, being an expression of the German soul. But the Nazis organised kindred movements also in non-German countries, including the U.S.A., Brazil, Hungary, Rumania, Belgium, &c., stirring up disorders in many places, and their action has had great resemblance to that for which they used to blame the Communist International.

Hitler's deputy in the party (not in the Government) is Rudolf > Hess; other important sub-leaders are > Göring, > Göbbels, > Frick, > Rosenberg, > Ley, > Ribbentrop, > Himmler and Streicher, the Jew-baiter. It is noteworthy that all the leaders were penniless politicians before 1933, but now they have fortunes of many million marks each.

NAVAL TREATY OF LONDON, a treaty concluded on March 25, 1936, between Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France with a view to limiting naval armaments. Italy acceded subsequently, while Japan refused to join the treaty. The treaty provides for qualitative limitations, particularly for a maximum tonnage of 35,000 for capital ships, for mutual information on construction programmes, and in certain cases also for quantitative limitations. The treaty is valid until December 31, 1941, but an escape clause allows earlier abolition of limitations if naval programmes of other nations should threaten the security of signatories. As Japan refused to reveal her naval programme and was reported to be building battleships of 40,000 tons, the three London signatories raised the limit for capital ships from 35,000 to 45,000 tons by announcement of June 29, 1938.

NAZI, popular contraction (with a slightly derogatory ring) for the German > National-Socialists. The German pronunciation is "naatsy". The term sprang up as a parallel to the word "Sozi" with which the German Socialists had been labelled by their opponents in earlier times, using the first two syllables of the word *Sozialisten*. National-Socialists were first styled Nazi-Sozi accordingly, but the second half of the term was dropped afterwards. "Nazism" is the corresponding contraction for National-Socialism.

NEGRIN, Dr. Juan, Spanish Socialist, last Premier of the Spanish republican Government in the civil war, born 1889, originally a biologist, leader of the moderate group in the Spanish Socialist Party. Succeeded > Caballero in the Premiership in May 1937, tried in vain to save the republican cause by closer collaboration with the right-wing section of the republican camp and a more centralised system of Government. Went to the U.S.A. at the collapse of the republic.

NEHRU, Jawaharlal, Indian nationalist leader. Born 1889 of a Brahman family in Kashmir, educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, advocate at Allahabad High Court, secretary of the Indian Home Rule League in 1918, member of the All-India Congress Committee since the same year, imprisoned in 1921 and 1922, co-operated with > Gandhi, became General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. in 1929. Was President of the > Indian National Congress in 1929 and 1930,

imprisoned 1931-1932 for participation in the salt satyagraha, again imprisoned in 1932 for civil disobedience activities, once more in 1934, released in 1935, was Congress President in 1936 and 1937. Nehru is a radical Democrat and Socialist who wishes to transfer western European ideas to India at once. This has in a degree alienated him from his former master, Gandhi. Nehru is strongly anti-British, but on the ground of his democratic creed also opposed to European dictatorships. He has written a number of books, among them *Glimpses of World History* and *Soviet Russia*.

NEP, Russian contraction for Novaya Ekonomicheskaya Politika, New Economic Policy, the policy adopted by Soviet Russia after the civil war in 1922 with a view to promoting the recovery of production and trade. It admitted a certain amount of private initiative and profit; private enterprise, domestic and foreign, was encouraged in commerce and minor industries. The NEP was liquidated in 1927 and succeeded by the strictly socialistic Five-Year Plan policy.

NETHERLANDS, The, > Holland.

NEUTRALITY, non-participation in a war between other countries.

According to international law, a neutral country must abstain from any interference with the war. She must neither favour nor hinder any belligerent or any armed forces of belligerents, and she is bound to defend herself against any violation of her neutrality. Certain gradations of neutrality which occur in practice, such as "benevolent neutrality", are actually unlawful. No hostilities between belligerents may be undertaken or tolerated on neutral territory or in neutral waters. A neutral is not only entitled, but obliged, to use force against troops, ships or aircraft of belligerents violating her neutrality. She must not allow the passage of belligerent troops, the establishment of military, naval or air bases by belligerents, or the recruiting of belligerent forces in her territory. Warships of belligerents may stay in neutral ports only for 24 hours: they may refuel, take on food supplies, and effect repairs necessary to render them seaworthy (for which purpose the 24 hours may be extended), but they must not undertake repairs or equipment calculated to increase their fighting power. Prisoners on board such ships must be released when they enter a neutral port. Neutrals may trade with belligerents and supply them with war material, but their shipments are subject to the law of > blockade and > contraband.

NEUTRALITY ACT OF 1939,

NEUTRALITY ZONE]

belligerent Government, issued after the outbreak of war, or to extend any credits to such Government, with the exception of certain commercial credits of a character customarily used in peacetime. American ships are forbidden to carry supplies to belligerents; the latter must fetch the goods themselves. American ships are also forbidden to enter combat zones; the coasts of the British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Scandinavia were declared combat zones to begin with. American citizens are not to travel on ships of belligerents. Licenses are required for arms exports. The Act does not apply to American republics.

Neutrality legislation was first adopted in 1935 when the European tension was growing. The idea was to avoid a repetition of circumstances which in the opinion of many had lead the U.S. into the last war, to wit, the formation of vested interests in the war through credits and supplies, and the torpedoing of American ships. The Act was renewed in 1937; arms supplies were completely forbidden, and other supplies permitted only on a cash-and-carry basis. The arms embargo worked out as an encouragement for Hitler's aggressive policy as he hoped Britain and France would be unable to obtain war material from America in wartime. President Roosevelt urged repeal of the arms embargo early in 1939, and partial repeal was approved by the House of Representatives in July 1939; but the President insisted on full repeal, and the Senate shelved the Bill. After the outbreak of war a special session of Congress was called which, after several weeks' debate, repealed the arms embargo and adopted the present Act. The cash-and-carry clause favours the Allied Powers as they have money to pay for supplies and sea-power to transport them, while Germany lacks both.

NEUTRALITY ZONE, American, a zone of 300 miles, and in some places up to 600 miles, around the whole American continent except Canada, established by a conference of the 21 American republics at Panama on October 3, 1939. It was suggested at the conference all warlike acts at sea or in the air should be prohibited in this "zone of security", and in case of necessity the ban enforced by joint action. The actual "Declaration of Panama" which was made by the conference, however, established the zone of security only in theory, providing for mutual consultation on practical steps if hostilities should occur in it. After the Graf Spee battle off Montevideo and the sinking and seizure of German ships by British warships in the zone, consultation was initiated, and experts recommended to the member republics that they should intern all belligerent warships calling at American ports. Britain protested against the establishment of the neutrality zone as incompatible with international law, and as likely to lead to the creation of a sanctuary for German vessels. So far the neutrality zone has not come into practical existence.

NEW DEAL, the policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt in the U.S.A. in 1933 in order to overcome the great economic crisis which had broken out at the end of 1929. The New Deal, partly designed by the "Brain Trust", consisted

of a series of far-reaching economic and social measures which were not only opposed to the previous attempts to end the depression by orthodox, "deflationary" means but also to many American traditions. Through the > NRA legislation, Government initiative was introduced as the leading factor of the economic trend in a country which had so far abhorred State interference with business. The Administration started on a programme of industrial recovery through public works (> Public Works Administration), an ample supply of cheap credit and an increase in buying-power. The dollar was devalued by 40 per cent. Housing legislation (> housing policy) provided for large-scale construction of houses with public guarantees and subsidies. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (Resico) granted loans to finance the Government's schemes. A number of other institutions and authorities, such as the > Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, was created to employ the workless and to stimulate economic activities. Unemployment relief was regulated and enlarged. Workers were encouraged to unionise by the > Wagner Labour Relations Act. The Social Security Act introduced general social insurance in the U.S.A. after decades of dispute over this measure which had been regarded by many as contrary to the American principles of self-help and self-reliance of the individual. The > Agricultural Adjustment Act provided for large-scale assistance to the farmers. The Banking Act and the > Securities Exchange Commission concentrated financial control in the hands of the Administration, breaking the power of > Wall Street (> Morgan, > Federal Reserve System). New Deal policies did not succeed in ending unemployment in America but they helped to reduce the number of workless from 17 millions to a figure the estimates of which vary between 7 and 10 millions. Expenditure by the AAA, PWA, WPA and the housing authorities, to quote only the most important New Deal agencies, has so far exceeded \$15,000,000,000. The New Deal met with considerable resistance in the beginning, and certain parts were repealed by the U.S. Supreme Court. The basic portions, however, were upheld, and while opposition continues to the spending policy connected with the New Deal, there is no doubt that many of its innovations will become a permanent part of American legislation.

NEWFOUNDLAND, oldest British colony, Dominion till 1933, when Dominion status was suspended owing to financial difficulties, and the administration was given over to the Governor and a Commission consisting of three representatives of the United Kingdom and three of Newfoundland. The country had been unable to meet the charges on its debt of about £18 million. The debt service was taken over by Britain and the British Parliament agreed to meet Newfoundland's deficit. The Parliament of Newfoundland agreed on December 2, 1933, to suspension of responsible government during the time of the financial emergency. The area of Newfoundland proper is 42,700 sq. m. with a population of 255,000. On the American Continent, Labrador is under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland.

covering 110,000 sq. m. with only 5,000 inhabitants. Newfoundland has constantly refused to join Canada.

NEW ZEALAND, Dominion of, member of the British Commonwealth, 103,400 sq. m., population 1,600,000, capital Wellington. The Crown is represented by a Governor-General, while Parliament consists of a House of Representatives, elected by universal suffrage (woman suffrage since 1893) for three years (last election October 15, 1938), and a Legislative Council (Upper House), nominated by the Governor-General for seven years. Agriculture is the principal industry, dairy and fruit farming, cattle and sheep breeding being the most important branches. Industrialisation has also been progressing in recent years. New Zealand was established in 1840 by a selected body of British settlers, and has become a model State, with the most progressive institutions and probably the highest standard of life in the world. The New Zealanders are distinguished by particularly zealous adherence to the British Commonwealth, and New Zealand has often been referred to as the "most British of all Dominions". The economic connection with the Empire is likewise strong, about 90% of New Zealand's exports going to British countries, chiefly to Britain, which derives from New Zealand a large proportion of her imports of mutton, lamb, cheese and butter.

Since 1935, the Labour Party has been in office in New Zealand. It has effected a series of far-reaching Socialist reforms, including the forty-hour-week, minimum wages, compulsory unionisation, increased pensions, guaranteed prices for dairy farmers, State marketing of produce, health and maternity benefits, widow's and orphans' and invalidity pensions and family allowances. Also a large programme of public works was initiated. The Labour Party holds 53 out of a total of 80 seats in the Lower House. The second party is the National Party (25 seats), led by A. Hamilton and G. W. Forbes, an amalgamation of the former Reform and Liberal parties which joined forces in 1931. They numbered 50 seats formerly, but were halved in the 1935 election. Their programme is conservative-liberal, favouring private enterprise as opposed to socialism, but accepting much of Labour legislation on social security.

New Zealand immediately joined Britain on the outbreak of the present war. In the last war, a considerable force was sent overseas in common with Australia, winning fame as "Anzac" (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps).

NIEMÖLLER, Martin, D.D., leader of the German Protestant Confessional Church, born January 14, 1892, at Lippstadt, Westphalia. Submarine commander in the World War of 1914-1918, turned to theology afterwards, became Pastor of the wealthy Dahlem parish in the west of Berlin. Was strongly nationalist and anti-communist, hailed National-Socialism, joined Nazi Party, but the Nazi efforts in 1933 to bring the Protestant Church under State control converted him into an opponent of the Nazi régime. When National-Socialists caused a split in the Church, setting up the "German Christians" with a Nazi-influenced programme, virtually establishing

the supremacy of the State and its doctrines over the Church and its basic principles (including the adoption of the racial or "Aryan" paragraph), Niemöller assumed the leadership of the "Confessional Church", which remained true to the Evangelical principles, and opposed the "German Christians" as inconsistent with Christianity. Niemöller founded the "Pastors' Emergency League" to defend the Lutheran faith, and a synod at Barmen in May 1934 laid down the "six principles" of the "Confessional Church". The Pastor's League had 7,000 members at the outset, but wholesale persecution by the Nazi authorities diminished its ranks, and in 1938 only about 1,000 persons were left to refuse the oath of allegiance to Hitler. Niemöller preached courageously and with growing vehemence against Nazi control over the Church and other Nazi policies, and his services were crowded. On July 1, 1937, he was put into a concentration camp. In prison, Niemöller made an admirable stand, refused to diverge from his creed, refused also an offer of release on condition that he would pledge himself not to preach any more. In a secret trial at the so-called People's Court on March 2, 1938, he was sentenced to seven months' "fortress" (a sort of honourable prison used for officers). At the end of these seven months he was not released but kept further in "protective custody". Leading officers of the German army, including Field-Marshal von Mackensen, and British naval officers who had fought against Niemöller in the last war intervened in his favour, but Hitler has persistently refused to free Niemöller.

NIHILISM, from Latin *nihil*, nothing, an intellectual current in Russia in the 'sixties, became famous through Turgenyev's novel *Fathers and Sons*, 1862. Recognised no authority, doubted every general principle and value, stood for freedom of the sovereign individual. Nihilism has often been erroneously confused with > anarchism. Though it paved the way for revolutionary thought, it was a philosophical and literary school without any political action of its own.

NINE-POWER AGREEMENT, an international treaty regarding China, concluded in 1923 between Great Britain, the United States, Japan, China, France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands. The treaty guarantees the sovereignty, independence, territorial and administrative integrity of China. It pledges the Powers to help China in maintaining a stable government, establishes the principle of the > "Open door" in Chinese commerce and forbids the Powers to seek special privileges in China. The treaty was violated by Japan's action in Manchuria in 1931 and still more by Japanese aggression against China in 1937. In the latter case the treaty was invoked and a conference of the signatories was held at Brussels in November 1937, but it failed to produce any concrete result.

NOBEL PRIZES. By the will of A. B. Nobel, a Swedish chemist and engineer who died in 1896, the bulk of the fortune which he amassed from the manufacture of explosives was left to establish five annual prizes. Four go to the persons who have done the best work in physics, chemistry, medicine or physiology

NON-AGGRESSION PACT]

and literature. The fifth goes to the person or society which has done the best work for peace. In the last 14 years the Peace Prize has been awarded to three Englishmen: Sir Austin Chamberlain, Sir Norman Angell, and Viscount Cecil.

NON-AGGRESSION PACT, an agreement between two countries to abstain from the use of force against each other and to settle any differences by negotiation or arbitration. Such pacts became a fashion in the period between the last and the present war, and have been a much-used instrument in the diplomatic game. They have sometimes formed the prelude to an alliance. As regards the prevention of aggression, the pacts have proved of little value. They were either denounced at the moment one partner desired to proceed to aggression, or completely disregarded.

NON-INTERVENTION, a fictitious policy of the Powers in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939. The Great Powers and a number of smaller countries agreed not to supply arms or to send troops to either of the Spanish parties. A non-intervention committee was set up in London, international control officers were installed at ports and frontier points and even a non-intervention patrol was introduced along the Spanish coasts. Nevertheless gaps and loopholes enough were left by land and by sea to allow enormous quantities of war material and whole armies to come to Spain. In the last stage of the civil war the non-intervention committee ceased its activities.

NORDIC, (a) a term describing the Scandinavian States (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland) and their inhabitants.

(b) a term of the racial theory. The "Nordic" race is described as tall, blond, blue-eyed and long-headed, and generally stated to have come from Scandinavia. Others seek its cradle in southern Russia. The theory that the Nordics are a race of superior qualities, noble-minded, gifted with courage, profound thought, &c., and that all European civilisation is due to them, is the creation of a French writer, Count Joseph de Gobineau (1816-1882). It was developed further by the Germanised Englishman, > Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Carlyle and Madison Grant (*The Passing of the Great Race*) also adhered to it. It spread particularly in Germany. All these theories say that Nordic peoples came down from the north from time to time in history, conquered western and southern lands, and gradually intermingled with the subdued peoples. All cultural achievements of European peoples are, according to this theory, the work of the Nordic element, and in the same degree in which the Nordic element vanished, being absorbed in the non-Nordic part of the population, civilisation declined. The 100 per cent. advocates of the Nordic theory claim that all great men in history, science and art have been of the Nordic type. They go even farther back into antiquity, stating that Greek civilisation was the work of blond Nordics who conquered Greece about 2000 B.C. It became a fashion to discern Nordics wherever any human achievement was found, and it has even been claimed that Indian, North African and Inca civilisations were due to a race of Nordic blood conveyed to the respective parts of the globe by legendary Nordic Vikings.

In relation to the > "Aryan" theory, one school of Nordic theoreticians claims that "Aryan" and "Nordic" are identical, while another school classifies the Nordics as only one branch, though that most valuable, of the Aryans, including also other European races in the latter term. As a matter of fact, the Nordic race is mythological. There is a Nordic type, making up about 70% of the population in Scandinavia, less than 20% in Germany, Holland and Great Britain, and less than 15% in the United States. The rest of these peoples belong to the dark-haired races and countless combinations of these races with the Nordic race as well as among themselves. With regard to its "blood", the Nordic-looking section of these peoples is in no way purely Nordic, being likewise the product of many centuries of interbreeding. The existence of a common Nordic primitive people has never been proved. Still more fantastic is the assumption that only Nordics are responsible for the achievements of the European peoples. Prominent men were as often as not of other types (Shakespeare, Beethoven, Napoleon, Einstein are quite un-Nordic types) and while the contribution of the so-called Nordics to the development of civilisation was certainly important, other European races, such as the Alpine or Eurasian and in particular the Mediterranean race, have done at least as much.

"Nordism" has been developed as an instrument of German imperialism, describing the Germans as Nordics (which is true only of a small percentage) and claiming it as their mission to govern other peoples of "lesser racial value". The "dis-norded" and "negrotised" French, the Slav "sub-humans", and still more the Jews became the special objects of Nordic contempt. Nazism carried the Nordic theory to extreme lengths, making it a sort of State religion. It became part of Government policy to select Nordic types and to encourage their breeding by a sort of marriage control among Nazis, and to educate them in special institutions to create a Nordic body of leaders in Germany. This was called "nordening up" the German race. It is one of the ironies of history that the most fervent advocates of the Nordic theory, such as Hitler and Göbbels, are anything but Nordic in appearance, the former being much of an Alpine and the latter's race being absolutely undefinable.

NORTHERN IRELAND, 5,200 sq. m., population 1,300,000, comprising the six northern Irish counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone. Often referred to as "Ulster". Northern Ireland is for all practical purposes a part of the United Kingdom, returning 13 members to the House of Commons at Westminster, but enjoys limited self-government exercised by a Northern Irish Parliament of two Houses and a separate Government. Certain legislative and fiscal powers are reserved to the Government of the United Kingdom. More than two-thirds of the population of Northern Ireland are fervent British patriots and resent union with Southern Ireland outside the framework of the United Kingdom. Lord Craigavon, formerly Sir James Craig, is Prime Minister. There is a pro-Irish minority.

living mainly in the southern counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone.

NORWAY, Kingdom of, 125,000 sq. m., population 3,000,000, capital Oslo, ruler King Haakon VII, born 1872, elected to the throne after the separation from Sweden in 1905. Traditionally neutral, collaborates politically with the other Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark). Out of the 150 deputies of the Lower House of the Storting (Parliament) 70 belong to the Labour Party (leader Premier J. Nygaardsvold); a radical, left-wing Socialist party which for a time contemplated joining the Third (Communist) International but in 1938 decided to associate itself with the Second (Socialist) International. The Labour Party has been in Government since 1935, supported sometimes by the Agrarians (democratic, conservative, 18 seats, leader N. Tridael) and sometimes by the Liberals (23 seats, leader J. L. Mowinckel, former Premier and Foreign Minister). There is a Conservative Party, strongly anti-communist but democratic (36 seats, leader C. J. Hambro). The Socialist Government has favoured the working class and the farmers, but abstained from any basic changes in the economic system. Norway's principal industry is shipping, and she has a merchant fleet of 4,000,000 tons.

Norway showed great sympathy with Finland in the Soviet-Finnish war, and helped her by allowing the passage of volunteers and supplies. Yet she refused to allow the passage of regular Allied troops for Finland. In the present war she is neutral, but the use of Norwegian territorial waters by German ships has led to such incidents as the interception of the Altmark in Josing Fjord, and a considerable number of Norwegian ships have been sunk by German action. The Russian drive towards the west has also caused uneasiness, and it has been said, rightly or wrongly, that Russia wants the Norwegian port of Narvik on the North Atlantic.

In spite of her efforts to maintain neutrality, Norway was dragged into the war. On April 8, 1940, the Allies mined three points in Norwegian waters in order to prevent the use of these waters by German ships. In the following night Germany invaded Norway, pretending in the usual fashion to "take her under her protection". In fact the German action had been planned and prepared long before with a view to securing the supply of Scandinavian iron-ore, and indeed the German troopships had left for Norway before the Allied mining action had become known. Norway resisted and Allied help was sent.

NUNCIO, from Latin *nuntius*, herald, title of the Papal envoy in foreign capitals. The Papal Nuncio is automatically the *doyen* of the diplomatic corps everywhere. Papal Nuncios reside in all important capitals except London, Washington, Moscow and Mexico.

OFFICIAL SECRETS ACTS, laws forbidding the disclosure of certain official information, first passed in 1889 when a Foreign Office employee had disclosed a confidential diplomatic document. The law provides that any person who communicates to any unauthorised person information that has been entrusted to him in confidence by any person holding office under His Majesty shall be guilty of a misdemeanour. Following a suggestion from the Committee for Imperial Defence, the law was strengthened in 1911 by a second Act, and again in 1920 by an amendment with the purpose of preventing the disclosure by public servants, to the detriment of the State or national interests, of information imparted to them in the course of their duty. Sec. 6 of this Act conferred upon the Authorities exceptional powers of interrogation in cases under the Act. It was stated on behalf of the Government at that time that the Act would be applied only in cases of espionage. In recent years there has been a tendency to use it also in other cases. In February 1938 a Lancashire journalist who had published information based on a police document was convicted under the Act for refusing to state his source. The National Union of Journalists and other bodies protested against the use of the Act for a restriction of the freedom of the Press. In June 1938, Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., having put to the War Secretary a question indicating the knowledge of certain unpublished information on defence matters, was threatened with the use of the Act in his capacity of a Territorial Lieutenant. The matter was dropped afterwards. Legislation introduced with a view to restricting the use of the Act to cases of espionage has been shelved but the Government stated in summer 1939 that it would confine the actual application of the Act to such cases.

OGPU, alternative for > G.P.U., the Soviet secret police. The O stands for Obyedinyennoye, unified.

OIL, world production 1938 about 270,000,000 metric tons. Principal producing countries are (output in 1938 in 1,000 metric tons): U.S.A. 166,000, U.S.S.R. 28,000, Venezuela 26,000, Iran 11,000, Dutch Indies 7,400, Rumania 6,600, Mexico 5,700, Iraq (Mosul) 4,300. Other important producers are: Colombia 3,000, Trinidad 2,500, Argentina 2,400, Peru 2,100; smaller producers: Egypt, Burma, Poland, Germany. The importance of oil has enormously grown during the last decades owing to the general use of internal combustion engines (motorising, flying) and oil-heating for ships. Oil has also become an essential raw material for war in view of the decisive rôle of military aviation, motor transport, mechanised armies, armoured vehicles and oil-driven or oil-heated warships. No wonder oil countries have become the centre of political and strategic interest. Oil is produced by many enterprises throughout the world, the leading ones being the > Royal-Dutch-Shell group (under British and Dutch control) and the > Standard Oil group (U.S.A.) the competition of which has often

OPEN DOOR POLICY]

found a reflection in politics. At present the two groups seem to be at peace. Other important oil companies are the Anglo-Iranian (formerly Anglo-Persian) Co., controlled by the British Government, and the Texas Corporation (U.S.A.). Oil-less Germany has embarked on a policy of making oil from coal recently, but progress has been rather slow (annual production in 1938 about 1,300,000 tons) and the artificial product is four times as expensive as the natural one.

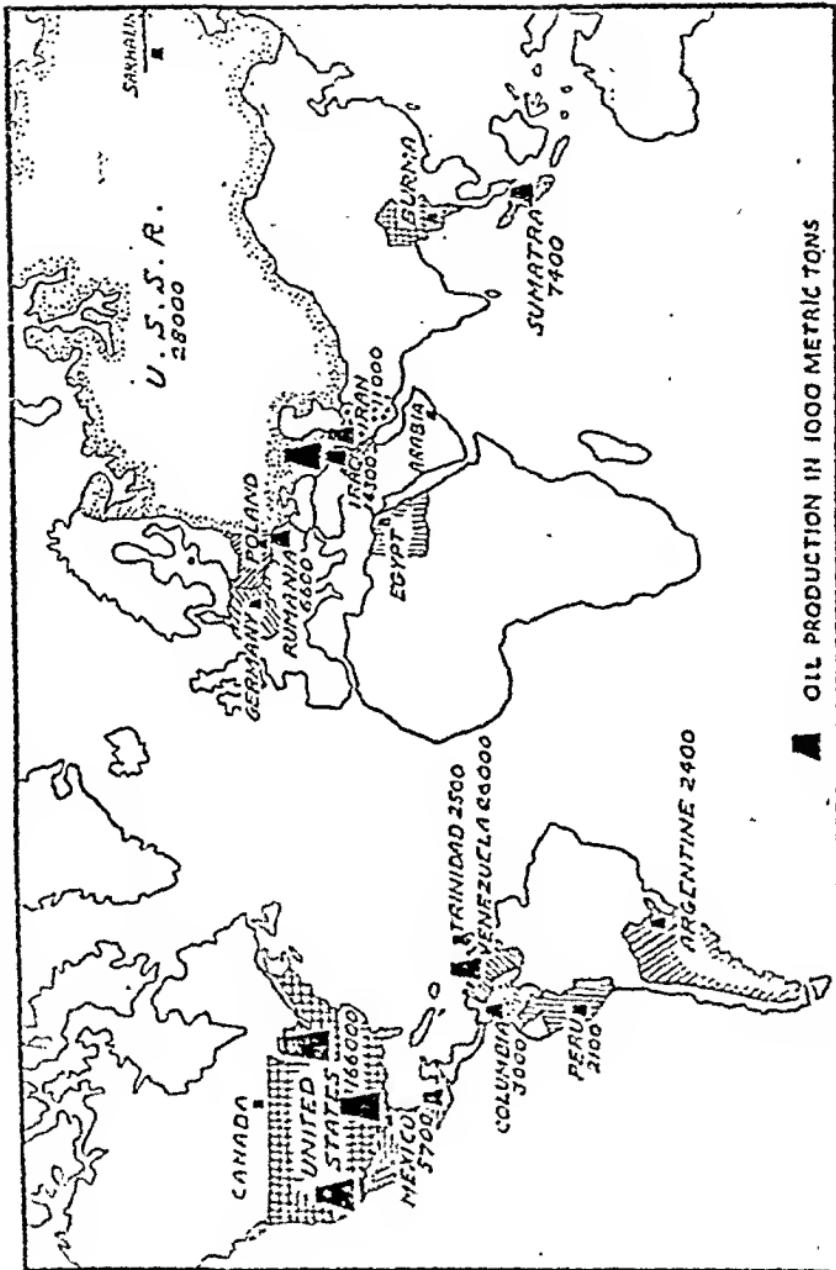
OPEN DOOR POLICY, the policy of keeping trade open to all comers on equal terms, ruling out monopolies or preferences for any individual country.

ORSAY, Quay d', an embankment of the Seine in Paris where the French Foreign Office is situated.

OSLO CONVENTION, an agreement concluded at Oslo in 1937 between Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg with a view to stressing a liberal trade policy and facilitating the signatories' mutual trade. The idea was to make a regional beginning with the loosening of trade restrictions, in the hope that similar pacts would follow in other parts of the world. The convention has also been regarded as the nucleus of a bloc of the North European neutral nations. The actual significance, both economic and political, of the convention has proved rather limited. The signatories are sometimes referred to as the "Oslo Powers".

OTTAWA AGREEMENTS, the agreements concluded at the Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa, Canada, in 1932, and securing mutual tariff preference to the members of the British Commonwealth. Imperial preference had been practised since the 'nineties when the Dominions had started their high-tariff policies. It had, however, been a one-sided affair, as the United Kingdom had stuck to its traditional free trade and was not in a position to reciprocate the preferential rates granted by the Dominions. When Britain adopted moderate protectionism in the late 'twenties the situation became different. Britain offered the Dominions a measure of tariff preference in return for a lowering of the Dominion duties on British goods which had risen to substantial heights in spite of preference. It was hoped to create by means of Imperial preference something like an economic unit out of the far-flung British Commonwealth. After considerable bargaining at Ottawa a number of agreements were signed between the United Kingdom and the Dominions, the U.K. granting preferential tariffs and quotas equally to all the Dominions in return for a reduction of the preferential tariffs on certain lines of U.K. manufactures in the Dominions. The preferences are not overwhelming and the discussion on the subject "World trade or Empire Trade?" has not come to an end yet. Generally speaking, mutual trade between the British countries has been enlarged in a limited measure, but there has been no decisive change in the structure of the trade of the various member-States. As a matter of course much of the additional preferential trade was done at the expense of other countries, and this did not fail to raise difficulties in concluding trade agreements with countries outside the British Commonwealth.

OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD



OTTAWA AGREEMENTS]

Lately there has been a tendency to modify the Ottawa agreements so as to enable the partners to conclude better trade treaties with other countries. A new Anglo-Canadian trade agreement of 1939 had to be supplemented by an American-Canadian treaty to recompense Canada for certain divergences from the Ottawa agreements which Britain had to concede in favour of the U.S.A.

PACIFISM, the movement for the abolition of war. The name has been in use since the turn of the century. Peace societies were established in Britain, America, Germany, France and other countries, and international peace congresses were held. The Quakers have played a great part in the peace movement. While the membership of the peace societies has generally remained a limited one, the indirect influence of the peace movement has been considerable. It influenced the international peace conferences before the World War of 1914, and the attempts made at the prevention of war after it, such as the > League Covenant, the establishment of the > Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, the > Kellogg Pact (a result of the "outlawry movement", the American branch of pacifism aiming at the outlawry of war as a crime) and the > Disarmament Conference. In 1936 the International Peace Campaign was organised to co-ordinate the work for peace through the League of Nations, and a Peace Congress was held at Brussels, Belgium. The British delegation numbered 580, representing 200 organisations, among whom 55 "Peace Councils". All these conferences and pacts remained of a theoretical nature. There are various currents of pacifism; most radical are the war resisters who in 1928 organised the War Resisters' International. Pacifism is particularly strong in England and America, and conscientious objectors to military service are legally recognised there. Dictatorial countries condemn and persecute pacifism.

PADEREWSKI, Ignacy, Polish pianist and statesman, born November 18, 1860, at Kurylovka, Poland, became a teacher of music at the Warsaw Conservatory in 1879, famous pianist since 1887, Director of the Warsaw Conservatory in 1909. During the Great War of 1914-1918, Paderewski headed the anti-German Polish National Democrats in Switzerland, went to the U.S.A. in 1915 to influence President Wilson in favour of a Polish restoration. Became Prime Minister of the new Polish Republic January-December 1919, represented Poland at Versailles and at the League of Nations. In 1921 he retired from politics. He re-emerged in the present war and was elected Chairman of the Polish National Council in Paris.

PALESTINE, 10,430 sq. m. 1,480,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,000,000 are Arabs and 480,000 Jews. Formerly Turkish, Palestine was placed under British administration after the World War under a League Mandate incorporating the > Balfour Declaration of 1917 which had promised "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people", and was opened to Jewish immigration. The Arabs protested against the policy of the Jewish national home, referring to a British promise during the war to include Palestine in the

coming Arab State. The document referred to was the MacMahon correspondence (> Arabs) of 1915 in which the British had recognised the frontiers demanded by Hussein, Shereef of Mecca, for the Arab State which was to be the price of Arab help to the Allies in the war. These frontiers had included Arabia proper, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, but the British recognition excepted "certain districts lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo" on the ground that they were not purely Arab. Later on it was claimed that Palestine had been included in this exemption as lying "west of Damascus". The Arabs replied that this was geographically indefensible. Some critics have blamed Britain for having given contradictory promises to both Jews and Arabs during the war, and described Palestine as "the too much promised land". Anyway, Jews were admitted, but only on limited annual quotas. The first British High Commissioner was a Zionist (Sir Herbert, now Lord, Samuel), but no Jew has since been appointed to this post. The Trans-Jordan was detached from Palestine, made an Arab principality under Emir Abdullah, and excluded from Jewish colonisation. Arab revolts in 1921 and 1929 were quelled by the British, but the Hope Simpson and the Passfield reports of 1930, following the second Arab revolt, recommended suspension of Jewish immigration and a Legislative Council for Palestine which would naturally have had an Arab majority. This plan was dropped in view of Zionist opposition. The persecution of Jews in Germany brought a great flow of immigrants to Palestine in the following years; while immigration had been kept at the low level of 5,249 in 1929, 4,075 in 1931 and 9,553 in 1933, it jumped to 42,359 in 1934 and 61,854 in 1935, not counting a substantial number of illegal immigrants. This called forth renewed Arab disorders, and to find a solution the Peel Commission recommended in July 1937 the partition of Palestine. A fully independent Jewish State was to be formed out of the mainly Jewish-settled districts along the coast and in the north, while inner Palestine was to become an independent Arab State. Jerusalem and the port of Haifa were to remain under British administration, and the Arabs were to get a corridor to the sea near Jaffa. The Jewish State would have been able to accommodate 2,000,000 Jews. This scheme was rejected by Arabs as well as Jews (although some Zionists favoured it) and abandoned in 1938. A Palestine Conference was called in London in February 1939, but the proposals of the British Government were again refused by both sides. A subsequent British White Paper, issued May 17, 1939, and approved by Parliament, stated: "His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not a part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State". With reference to the MacMahon correspondence, the Arab claim for an Arab State in Palestine was likewise denounced, and the objective was stated to be an "independent Palestinian State, the two peoples sharing authority in government in such a way that the essential interests of each were secured". The Palestinian State is to be set up ten years hence and to be "on such

treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries". Palestinians will, after restoration of peace and order, be placed in charge of departments of government with British advisers and under control of the High Commissioner. After five years from the restoration of peace and order a body of representatives of the people of Palestine and of H.M. Government will be set up to make recommendations for the future constitution. "If after ten years," the White Paper goes on, "in the opinion of H.M. Government circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, H.M. Government will consult with the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations and the Arab States before deciding on such postponement." 75,000 Jews were to be allowed to immigrate in the next five years, being an average annual quota of 15,000, and the intention was indicated to keep the Jewish proportion at the present level of roughly one-third of the population. For the first half of the quota year 1939-40 the quota was cancelled to make up for continued illegal immigration. Since February 1940 land sales to Jews have been forbidden in all Palestine north of Jerusalem except in the areas of Haifa Bay, Ramleh and Tantura. Jews can still purchase land in the arid and undeveloped south by special permit.

The White Paper, it will be observed, is not free from the vaguenesses that have distinguished all previous declarations on Palestine. The Zionists have emphatically rejected it, regarding it as an abrogation of the Balfour declaration, while the Arabs have received it with but little satisfaction. The Mandate Commission of the League disapproved of the White Paper by a vote of 4: 3, but the discussion was cut short by the outbreak of the present war. For the moment the strife between Arabs and Jews seems to have died down. Both support Britain. In 1918 the Jewish population in Palestine was 10,000. Now it is 480,000, and Jewish investments in industry and agriculture have been £30 million. The Jews have laid out 230 agricultural settlements, drained the North Palestinian swamps, built the city of Tel-Aviv (150,000) and founded numerous industries. They have adopted the modernised Hebrew language and set up a complete educational system, including a University. Politically, they are divided into general or democratic Zionists, a moderate Labour Party, a Religious Party and the Radical-Nationalist "revisionists". (> Zionism.)

The Arabs have four parties, the Palestine Arab Party or "Mufti's Party" (Grand > Mufti), the Independence Party, the Arab Youth Party and the moderate National Defence Party (leader Regheb Bey Nashashibi), the second strongest after the Mufti's Party. Arab economic and social developments have been rather slow.

The country is governed by a British High Commissioner (Sir Harold MacMichael at present). Official languages are English, Arabic and Hebrew. British interests in Palestine are based on her key position to the Eastern Mediterranean.

PANAMA]

Palestine flanks the Suez Canal, dominates Imperial communications, particularly with India and the Far East, is an air-base; the port of Haifa is the terminus of the Iraq oil pipe line and a naval base for the British fleet. Palestine is a concern of the Jews on the one hand, Arabs and Moslems on the other hand throughout the world, and an emotional interest of Christendom owing to the Holy Places. All this makes the Palestine problem reflect the influences of the international situation rather than those of its local setting. See map of the Near East.

PANAMA, Declaration of, a joint declaration by 21 American republics made on October 3, 1939, with a view to establishing a neutrality zone around the American continent.

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE, the annual conference of the 21 American republics forming the Pan-American Union with headquarters at Washington. The Pan-American Union fosters political and economic collaboration among American republics and the feeling of solidarity between North and South America. Pan-Americanism has been hampered by the reticent attitude of the South American republics which fear economic and political hegemony of the U.S.A., and little more than general declarations of solidarity has been produced in the political field. A number of institutions were created to promote cultural and economic co-operation, and about 40 agreements relating to inter-American trade, traffic, migration and other questions were concluded. A Pan-American Highway was projected to connect the Americas; some sections are already completed. For a common policy of neutrality on the part of the American republics in the present war see **Neutral Zone**.

PANARABIC MOVEMENT, the movement striving for an all-Arab State or federation. (> Arabs.) Its centre is in Syria, the cradle of modern Arab nationalism, but it has sympathisers in all Arab-speaking countries. It coincides to some extent with > Panislamism, but is founded not on religious but on national feeling. Christian Arabs collaborate in it with the Moslem majority. It is hampered by the still strong tribal and regional feeling of the Arabs and by the rivalries of the various Arab States and rulers. These rivalries, however, concern themselves for a great part with leadership in the Panarabic movement rather than with the question of Panarabism itself. Panarabism is not an organised force but rather a current of common sympathies among Arabs, manifesting itself from time to time. It is fostered by a number of overt and secret societies and by individual Arab politicians. A Panarabic congress on the Palestine question was held at Bluden, Syria, in September 1937, at the instance of the Grand > Mufti of Jerusalem, 450 delegates, including orthodox bishops, taking part. Panarabism envisages first of all an Arabic State or federation comprising Arabia proper, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and the Transjordan, i.e. the Asiatic Arabs. Egypt, while sympathising with the movement, maintains some distance. There are, however, Egyptians who, having regard to the fact that Egypt is the most advanced Arab-speaking country, urge their country to take the lead in

Panarabism. The treaties of Saudi Arabia with Egypt and Iraq contain express references to "Arabic brotherhood" besides "Islamic sincerity". French North Africa and Morocco also show some signs of Panarabism. The population is not of the Arab race there and their Arabic (the Maghrebi variant) is somewhat different from Eastern Arabic, but genuine Arabs are much in respect there. The ultimate dream of Panarabists is an Arab empire or federation, stretching from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. The Arabs have not proved capable in history of maintaining such an empire as was theirs for a short time under the first caliphs, the geographical and economic differences within this vast space being too strong sectional factors. Whether modern Arab nationalism will be able to overcome these factors remains to be seen. The interested European Powers combat Panarabism as far as it emerges in their dependencies, and seek to slacken its progress as far as the independent or semi-independent countries are concerned, mainly by fostering their rivalries.

PAN-EUROPE, a movement started by Count Nicholas Coudenhove-Kalergi at Vienna in 1926. The Pan-European Union aimed at the establishment of a European Federation with the exclusion of Russia. The movement ebbed after initial successes.

PAN-GERMANISM, German *Alldeutschum*, the aim of uniting all German-speakers in a common empire. Before the World War of 1914-1918 Pan-Germanism was fostered in Germany by the powerful *Alldeutscher Verband* under the leadership of Herr Class. It aimed primarily at the absorption into Germany of the German-speaking provinces of Austria where it found considerable response. Hitler was brought up in the atmosphere of Austrian Pan-Germanism and permanently influenced by it. The Pan-Germanists used to worship Bismarck, but he had advocated the preservation of Austria and the "Little German" solution of the national question in Germany. The aims of Pan-Germanism were realised by Hitler in the south-east through the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland. In the west, Pan-Germanism advocates the incorporation in Germany of Alsace-Lorraine, Luxembourg, and German-speaking Switzerland. Extreme Pan-Germanists also claim Holland and Flanders, describing the Dutch and Flemish as "Lower Germans".

PANISLAMISM.

PANSLAVISM]

Islamic Arabs and Indians fighting against Islamic Turks. When Kemal > Atatürk abolished the sultanate and the caliphate after the war, and Turkey, previously the leading country of Islam, embarked on a non-religious policy, the centre of Panislamism moved to the Arabs. The question of the restoration of the caliphate was raised, and a Caliphate Congress in Cairo and an All-Moslem Congress in Mecca were held in 1926, but no decision of a practical nature was reached. Several candidates for the post of Caliph showed up: first the late King Hussein of Hedjaz, then King > Ibn Saud, and the King of Egypt; and other ambitious personalities of Islam have been mentioned in this connection, among them the Grand > Musti of Jerusalem, Emin el Husseini. There has been no united Panislamic empire since the days of the early caliphs, and the racial, geographical and economic differences between the far-flung Islamic peoples do not make its re-establishment a political likelihood. But Panislamism is coming to be used as a spiritual weapon in the Islamic peoples' struggle for national freedom, and has found its expression in a number of mutual declarations of sympathy among them. Moslem conferences in Syria and Egypt in 1938 have influenced the development of the > Palestine problem in favour of the Arabs. The Pact of Saadabad in 1934, providing for political co-operation between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, has been described as the nucleus of a Panislamic bloc, and the treaties of > Saudi-Arabia with > Egypt and > Iraq contain express references to "Islamic sincerity". While all this has been of rather a theoretical nature, Panislamism will certainly remain a consideration in the politics of all Islamic peoples.

PANSLAVISM, the idea of a common policy or even union of all Slav peoples. (> Slavs.) Originated in the first half of the 19th century, influenced by Herder, the German re-discoverer of Slav culture, and German romantic philosophy. The first Slav congress was held in 1841. In the 'sixties, Russia took the lead in Panslavism, using it as an instrument of Russian imperialism—for strengthening the Russian hold on Poland and the Ukraine, and furthering Russian aspirations in the Balkans and in the Austrian Empire. A romantic school known as the Slavyanophiles was for a time influential in Russian literature, ascribing to the Slavs a sacred mission in Europe. Panslavism found a theoretical response with all Slav peoples, and pilgrimages to Russia of Slav delegations from Austria and the Balkans were of frequent occurrence before the last war. The > "Sokol" athletic association with all Slav peoples fostered panslavistic ideas, and more Slav congresses were held. Panslavism came to an end with the Communist revolution in Russia. It had contributed to the ousting of the Turks from the Balkans and to the disruption of the Austrian Empire but remained an emotional current rather than an organised political movement. Mutual inter-Slav sympathies have been frequently invoked since the last war, but in practice they have been overshadowed by the actual dissensions existing among the Slav peoples, such as the Polish-Russian, the Serbian-Bulgarian and (before the present war) the Polish-

Czech conflicts. Some observers have tried to discern a revival of Panslavism in the interest taken by Soviet Russia in Czechoslovakia 1935-1937, and in recent Soviet concern about the Balkans, but there seems to be little foundation for the assumption that this turn of Soviet policy has been animated by panslavistic feelings.

PAPEN, Franz von, German politician, was German military attaché in the U.S.A. in the World War of 1914, had to quit America in 1916 owing to complicity in bomb plots against American munitions factories, lived on his estate in the Saar territory after the war, joined the Catholic Centre Party, organised an aristocratic group known as the *Herrenklub* in Berlin, which succeeded temporarily in influencing President Hindenburg to appoint an authoritarian Cabinet of noblemen under the Chancellorship of Papen in 1932. After resigning as Chancellor he helped Hitler to power by organising a conference at the house of the Cologne banker, Herr Sehroeder, at the end of January 1933 in which powerful economic and political groups of the Right agreed to the formation of the Nazi Government. Papen showed signs of opposition against Hitler in 1934; Hitler retaliated by the shooting of Papen's closest collaborators on June 30, 1934, but left Papen at large. Papen continued to serve Hitler, was sent on diplomatic missions subsequently, prepared the *anschluss* of Austria as German Minister in Vienna and has been Minister to Turkey for the last two years.

PASSFIELD. Lord, formerly Sidney James Webb, British Labour leader, born 1859, intellectual leader of the Fabian Society since 1883, developed a non-Marxist, gradualist theory of British Socialism which became the platform of the Labour Party in 1918. Webb wrote a great number of important books, including *History of Trade Unionism*, *Industrial Democracy*, *History of English Local Government*, *Soviet Civilization*. His equally distinguished wife, the Hon. Beatrice Webb, collaborated in his work and wrote significant books herself. Webb was a Labour M.P. from 1922 to 1929, President of the Board of Trade in the first Macdonald Government in 1924, Secretary of State for Colonies, then for Dominions, in the second Macdonald Government from 1929 to 1931. He was raised to the peerage in 1929 as Lord Passfield, Mrs. Webb refusing to use the title.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION. British radical-pacifist organisation, founded in October 1934 by Canon Sheppard. Among the sponsors were writers and politicians such as George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Bertrand Russell, Storm-Jones and Aldous Huxley. Membership reached 80,000 after the first year. In 1937 the movement joined forces with the No More War Movement. Members pledge themselves to renounce war and not to participate in any war. The Union is the British section of the "War Resisters International". It publishes the weekly "Peace News". Present membership is about 120,000. Members are expected to refuse military service as conscientious objectors. The Union rejects all wars, including those resulting from sanctions, self-defence or collective security. It appeals

PENETRATION]

to spiritual and moral power, advocates non-violent resistance, aims at creating conditions in international policy which make war impossible. Recommends a world conference, a reconstituted sanction-less League of Nations, extension of the mandates system, feeling of responsibility of "haves" towards "have-nots". The Peace Pledge Union opposes the present war, and Home Secretary Sir John Anderson stated in Parliament on February 22, 1940, that its activities were being closely watched by the authorities.

PENETRATION, Economic, > economic penetration.

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, an international court set up at The Hague, Holland, in 1921, in accordance with Art. 14 of the League Covenant. Its statute is a League document, but, owing to ratifications obtained, is also an international treaty binding on 46 States. The Court decides contested cases for members of the League and certain non-member States. It also renders advisory opinions to the League. Cases are brought up on request of one State by virtue of agreements providing for the jurisdiction of the Court, or by special agreements between two States to bring the case into Court. 400 international treaties provide for the Court's jurisdiction, including the peace treaties, the Locarno Pact, &c. An "optional clause", to which 38 States adhere at present (Germany has not renewed her signature), makes the Court's jurisdiction compulsory for signatories (on terms of reciprocity) regarding: (a) interpretation of treaties, (b) questions of international law, (c) breaches of international obligations, (d) reparations therefor. Judges are elected by the League for nine years and are re-eligible. Expenses are borne by the League. The League must elect independent judges, regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character and qualifications. There are 15 judges from a wide variety of States including the U.S.A. (though not a member-State), and Italy, but not Germany, at present. President is Señor Guerrero (Salvador), Vice-president, Sir Cecil Hurst (Britain). A session is held every year, and special sessions may be called at any time. Japan withdrew from the court in January 1940.

PHILIPPINES, Commonwealth of the, a group of over 1,000 islands and islets in the Malayan Archipelagos, 114,000 sq. m., population about 14,000,000, mainly Malayan with a strong Chinese admixture and including 75,000 Chinese and 20,000 Japanese. Luzon and Mindanao are the chief islands, and Manila is the capital. The Philippines were taken from the Spaniards by the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898, and have been an unincorporated U.S. territory since. There has been a continuous movement for independence among the Filipinos, which manifested itself in anti-Spanish uprisings 1894-1897 and anti-American ones 1899-1901 under Aguinaldo, and has led to the granting by the U.S. of increasing home rule, and eventually to a promise of independence as from 1946. The Home Rule Act of 1916, providing for an elected two-chamber Parliament and an American Governor-General with veto-right was replaced by the Tydings-Mac-

Duffie Independence Act of 1934. The Constitution of 1935 provided for an elected President and a single-chamber National Assembly, and an American High Commissioner was substituted for the Governor-General. Until 1946 all legislature affecting currency, exports, imports and immigration requires the approval of the U.S. President. The U.S. is also in control of foreign affairs, the U.S. Supreme Court is the supreme judicial authority, and American troops and ships are stationed in the islands. As from July 4, 1946, the Philippines will cease under the Act to be a territory of the U.S. and gain full independence, but mutually beneficial commercial relations with the U.S. are to continue for another 15 years. While some Filipinos press for early independence, others would prefer Dominion status under the U.S. after 1946 for fear of Japanese aggression. The Philippines are of high strategic importance in the Far East and there are voices in the U.S. opposing actual withdrawal from the islands.

President is Manuel Luis Quezon, elected September 17, 1935, for six years. His Partido Nacionalista Consolidado holds all 98 seats in the National Assembly, elected in November 1938 for three years. U.S. High Commissioner is Francis Sayre who succeeded the first Commissioner, Paul V. MacNutt, in August 1939. Tagalog, the language spoken by one of the Malayan tribes of the islands, was declared national language in spite of protest from other tribal groups. In addition English is official and Spanish still largely in use. The Roman

POGROM]

and small", and called for "reparation wherever the equality of rights of nations has been destroyed". (> Vatican.)

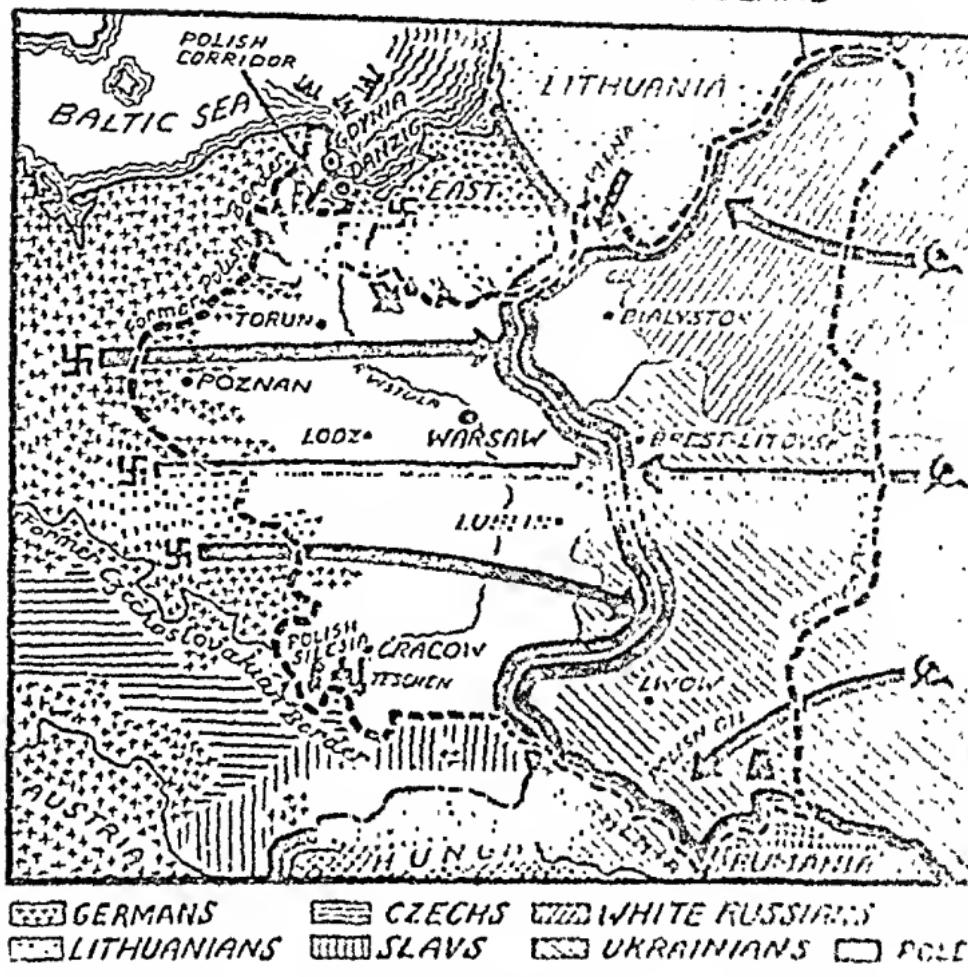
POGROM, a Russian word meaning "destruction" used to denote anti-Jewish outrages organised by the Tsarist Government. Pogroms consisted in sudden raids on Jewish quarters with wholesale murder, looting and arson. Pogroms have vanished in Russia since the Communist revolution, but they were introduced in Germany by Hitler. On November 10, 1938, after Herr vom Rath, an official of the German Embassy in Paris, had been assassinated by a Jewish lad from Poland, a general pogrom was organised in Germany. Synagogues were burnt down and Jewish shops and homes destroyed. Even Jewish hospitals and children's homes were not spared.

POLAND, 150,000 sq. m., population 34,000,000 prior to the present war. After a history dating back to 966, Poland was three times partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1772, 1793 and 1795 respectively, losing her independent existence at the last-named partition. The Poles strove for more than 120 years to recover their independence, and obtained it as a result of the World War in 1918 in which they had first sided with the Central Powers against Russia, and later on with the Allies against the Central Powers. The Polish Republic was formed out of the Polish-speaking parts of Russia, Austria and Germany, and large areas inhabited by racial minorities were included in it.

Germans were numerous in the > Corridor, the province of Posen and some adjacent districts, and East Upper Silesia. (A plebiscite had been held, according to the peace treaty, in the whole of Upper Silesia, and resulted in a majority for Germany; but the eastern districts voted for Poland and were therefore handed over.) Poland had taken the West Ukraine and West White Russia from Russia after stopping the Soviet advance to the west in the battle of Warsaw in 1920. In the same year she took the district of Vilna from > Lithuania.

> Danzig became a Free City under Polish sovereignty. These additions provided various points of friction with Poland's neighbours against which Poland relied on her alliance with France. Not only the inclusion of 11 millions of racial minorities which were treated rather badly, but also a number of economic and social difficulties caused disturbances in post-war years, and in 1926 Marshal Pilsudski, wartime hero of the Polish Legions and head of the first Polish Government, seized power by a *coup d'état*. In the following years Poland was ruled dictatorially by a military group known as the "Colonels' Group" and big landowning interests, although parliament and constitution continued to exist nominally. Opposition leaders were jailed and subject to tortures. In 1934 Poland proceeded to a *rapprochement* with Nazi Germany, being the first of Germany's former opponents to do so. A non-aggression pact was concluded for 10 years and Poland's relationship to France was loosened. This foreign policy of Poland, otherwise unintelligible, was presumably based on the inner relationship of the dictatorial régimes in both countries. Marshal Pilsudski died in 1935.

THE FOURTH PARTITION OF POLAND



and was succeeded by Marshal Smigly-Rydz in the actual leadership of the nation while Professor Mołekicki continued to be President of the Republic. Parliament was dissolved and a new constitution adopted, allowing only non-partisan candidates (meaning governmental ones for all practical purposes) to stand in elections. The "National Unity Movement" was established under the leadership of Colonel Koc in 1937 as a sort of totalitarian party. The old parties continued to exist outside parliament but had no say. They included the pro-Governmental Conservatives and the opposition Democrats, Socialists, Peasants and National Democrats. The election held in November 1938 was boycotted by the opposition.

While Hitler had allowed Polish participation in the first share-out of Czechoslovakia in October 1938, he turned suddenly against Poland in spring 1939, demanding the return of Danzig and the Corridor. Poland's rulers became alarmed. Britain and France offered guarantees, which were accepted.

POLITBUREAU]

and when German troops invaded the country in August, the Poles took up arms. But their defences were in a state of inefficiency, and the Polish armies were rapidly defeated by Germany's overwhelmingly mechanised columns. When an attempt was made to establish a new defence line on the Vistula, Soviet Russia came in at the rear, occupying the Ukrainian and White Russian parts of Poland (and even somewhat more), and Poland collapsed after a fortnight's warfare. Only besieged Warsaw under Mayor Stefan Starzyński fought heroically on but was forced to surrender soon after. The fourth partition of Poland followed (see map).

The Polish Government fled to Rumania. President Mościcki resigned, nominating M. Raczyewicz in Paris his successor. Raczyewicz formed a new Polish Government at Angers in France out of exiled Polish politicians. General Sikorski was appointed Premier, Count Zaleski, ex-Foreign Minister of Poland's anti-German period, was made Foreign Minister. Marshal Smigly-Rydz, interned in Rumania, was dismissed from his post as Commander-in-Chief and Inspector-General, and a democratic constitution was drafted. The Polish Army was reorganised out of Poles living in France. The restoration of the freedom of the Polish people is a declared war aim of the Allies. The area annexed to Russia contains about 4 millions Poles, but they live for the greater part among Ukrainian and White Russian majorities. The German-occupied zone, however, is inhabited by a compact population of 19 million Poles. There are also 2 million Jews in the German zone, and Germany has created a Jewish reservation around Lublin with a view to concentrating there not only Polish but also German Jews. Germany has formally annexed the western districts (33,000 sq. m.) of the German occupied zone, expelled the Poles, and begun to settle a German population there.

POLITBUREAU, contraction for the Political Bureau of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, regarded as the most powerful body in the country. Communist parties in other countries also have politbureaus.

POPULAR FRONT, a suggestion for political collaboration of Communists, Socialists and other democratic parties against Fascism, put forward by the Communist International in 1935. The Popular Front platform provided for common resistance to Fascism and a number of social reforms on a radically democratic basis, but no adoption of socialism. Popular Front Governments were established in Spain and France. The Spanish Popular Front was defeated by General Franco in a civil war, and the French ended at the beginning of 1938. See articles on > Communism, > France and > Spain, also Sir Stafford > Cripps.

PORTUGAL, 35,400 sq. m., population 7,500,000. Formerly a kingdom, Portugal became a republic in 1910 and has witnessed 24 revolutions and *coups d'état* since, without much loss of life. The last democratic Government was overthrown by a military *coup* in 1926. Dr. Antonio de Oliveira > Salazar became Prime Minister in 1932 and has been virtual dictator

of Portugal since. He is the leader of the *União Nacional*, the only authorised party in Portugal. A Constitution adopted in 1933 shows corporative features. Parliament consists of two houses: the National Assembly and the Corporative Chamber. The National Assembly numbers 99 elected members, only Government candidates being allowed to stand at the elections, and exercises legislative and financial powers. Only heads of families may vote in the election. The Corporative Chamber deals with economic and social matters and may review other legislation. It is composed of 79 members representing local "autarchies" and professional corporations. The President of the Republic is elected by the people for a seven-year term. President General Antonio de Fragoso Carmona, who had held the office since 1928, was re-elected in 1935. The policy of the *União* is nationalist and may be described as a mild form of fascism. The importance of the vast Portuguese colonial empire (Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, totalling 927,000 sq. m., also small possessions in India and China) is stressed, and the great history of Portugal often invoked. Portugal has been Britain's ally continuously for 400 years. The present treaty of alliance provides for mutual assistance if either of the two countries is attacked. The alliance involves no obligation for Portugal to fight in the present war, and she has remained neutral.

PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE (TEMPORARY MEASURES) ACT

an Act of Parliament passed in July 1939 to enable the Government to deal with the Irish Republican Army whose campaign of terror had become a nuisance. The lengthy legal procedure required under normal English laws for the prosecution of suspects and offenders had rendered action against the I.R.A. difficult. The Act simplified the procedure, authorising the Home Secretary to proceed to searches, and to detention and expulsion of suspects without the usual judicial warrant and trials. Criticism was raised against the Act as an encroachment on traditional British liberties as laid down in Magna Carta, but it was passed with a large majority. Scores of I.R.A. activists were arrested and expelled, and thousands left the country voluntarily so as to escape official action. The Act is effective only for two years.

PRIVY COUNCIL, originally an advisory council to the King. As a general body the Privy Council does not exercise its advisory duties, but selected groups of members are from time to time convoked. Three members form a quorum. It is then announced that "the King held a Privy Council", and Orders-in-Council, Royal Proclamations and other Royal acts usually follow. They are, however, previously recommended by responsible departments of the Government. The Cabinet itself is an informal committee of the Privy Council, and Cabinet Ministers are always Privy Councillors, a title which they retain even after resignation from the Cabinet. In other cases, Privy Councillor (P.C.) is an honorary title bestowed for distinguished services to the State. Privy Councillors are addressed as "Right Honourable". There are various committees of the Privy Council though they seldom meet (e.g. the Board of

PROLETARIAT]

Trade). An important acting committee is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, composed of legal peers and ex-judges, the highest judicial authority in the British Commonwealth. It sits to hear judicial appeals from the Dominions, India and the colonies, also appeals in ecclesiastical cases (with ecclesiastical assessors). Certain currents resenting the judicial supremacy of the Privy Council have made themselves felt in the Dominions, and the Canadian Supreme Court ruled on January 19, 1940, that the Canadian Parliament may abolish all appeals to the Privy Council in Britain. Canada has a Privy Council of her own.

PROLETARIAT, from Greek *proles*, prolific (alluding to the number of children of the poorer classes), the class of wage-earners without any property of their own, who depend on the sale of their labour. Definitions of the limits of the proletarian class vary; generally only manual workers are included, but the process of "proletarianisation" of the middle class is spoken of.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, an electoral system under which minority votes are not lost. Candidates are elected according to party lists, and votes given to a party in any constituency not sufficient for the election of a candidate are reserved for a second scrutiny, in which these "remainder votes" are added up. If the total is sufficient for the election of one or more candidates, they are taken from a national list of their party presented in addition to the local lists, and become members of parliament without a constituency. The alternative to this list system is the "single transferable vote". Electors set down the names of candidates in order of their preference. Votes given to candidate No. 1 in excess of the number required for his election go to the candidate who has been marked No. 2 by most voters, and so on. This is more flexible than the list system, and requires only one scrutiny. Proportional representation is in use in Switzerland and some smaller continental countries; it was also in use in republican Germany and in Czechoslovakia. Its adherents claim that it reflects the will of the people more exactly than the one-man-constituency system while its critics are afraid of the dominant influence of party machines on the nomination of candidates, and the elimination of strong personalities. In Britain, Labour and Liberals are in favour of proportional representation. It would increase the number of Labour seats in Parliament from 164 to 233.

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION, shortly referred to as PWA, full name Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, an American Federal Authority created by Act of Congress, June 16, 1933, in connection with the New Deal legislation with a view to providing employment through public works. More than 25,000 projects have been completed by the PWA so far, and about \$4,000,000,000 has been spent. The activities of the PWA consist mainly in making loans and grants to Federal and local authorities carrying out public works, and general supervision of such works.

PWA, > Public Works Administration.

RACE, a word of Arabic origin (*ras*, head or heading), brought to prominence in European politics by German Nazism. The Nazi theory makes "race" the basis of national policy and sees everything from the racial angle. It claims that only the > "Aryan" or > "Nordic" race is valuable, that it is most distinctly expressed in the Germans, and that their superior racial qualities entitle them to the domination of all "lower races" in Europe and elsewhere. In point of fact, "race" as applied to human beings is a very indefinite term. There is no "Aryan" race at all, nor is there a specific German race. All European peoples, including the Germans, are a mixture of several races, dark Mediterranean and Alpine or Eurasiatic types by far outnumbering the fair Nordics. In Germany there are less than 20% "Nordics". Slav and Baltic types prevailing in the North, Alpine and Celtic ones in the South. Hitler himself is a typical specimen of mixed race, predominantly Alpine in appearance. Every historical experience points in the direction that racial mixture is advantageous, while "pure race" in the Nazi sense has probably never existed. The British are the product of long interbreeding of various primitive and invading races, and America is the proverbial "melting-pot" of races. This has never stood in the way of British and American achievements, but has promoted them. A nation is united by its civilisation, history, language, mentality and habits, which are common to all its members, while racial types within a nation differ very widely.

RAPALLO, Treaty of, a treaty of friendship and commerce between Germany and Soviet Russia, signed unexpectedly at Rapallo, near Genoa, Italy, during the international conference on economic questions and reparations held at Genoa in November 1921. Was the work of Rathenau, then German Foreign Minister, became symbol of German-Russian co-operation.

RAUSCHNING, Herman, Ph.D., German exiled politician and writer, born 1887 at Thann, son of a German army officer, educated in the Prussian Cadet Corps, then at Munich and Berlin Universities, graduated 1911. Served in the last war, was wounded, and retired to manage his family estate in the > Danzig Territory. Joined the Nazi party in 1931, was elected President of the Danzig Senate in 1933, came into close contact with Hitler. Resigned November 1934 in protest against the Nazi's unconstitutional demands in Danzig. Stood against Nazis in Danzig election April 1935. Afterwards he was forced to sell his estate and leave Danzig. Now lives in London. Wrote "Germany's Revolution of Destruction," and "Hitler Speaks". His attitude is "young conservative", and opposes Nazism from the right rather than from the left.

RED ARMY, the army of the > Soviet Union. It arose as the army of the Communist revolution in 1917, and was called "Red" army as it bore the red flag of the revolution. The name was retained after the revolution and the Soviet Russian army

REFUGEES]

is officially called the Red Army of Workers and Peasants to the present day. It numbers about 20,000,000 trained reserves and is highly mechanised. Its air arm was estimated at 7,000 first-line aircraft before the present war, presumably the strongest in the world, and the number of tanks at more than 5,000. Its staff was affected by the party purge of 1936-1937.

REFUGEES, a serious and growing problem since the World War of 1914-1918 and the adoption of political and racial persecution as a standard instrument of politics in a number of countries. The first post-war wave of refugees consisted primarily of Russians, and of Armenians and Greeks from Turkey. The "white" Russians numbered about 3 millions. Many of them settled in Poland and China, about 70,000 in France, the rest are scattered all over the world. Armenian refugees, estimated at 300,000, settled largely in Near Eastern countries. 1,500,000 Greeks, expelled from nationalist Turkey in 1923, were settled in Greece with League aid and exchanged for Turks living in Greece before. The Nansen Office at Geneva cared for the (mostly Russian) refugees of this period. The second wave of refugees began with the advent to power of Nazism in 1933. About 350,000 persons have been compelled to leave Germany and Austria on racial and political grounds since that time, among them about 300,000 Jews and 30,000 "non-Aryan" Christians, the remainder being Socialists, Communists, Democrats, Monarchists and Catholics. The seizure by Germany of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 caused another wave of emigration, and about 25,000 persons from that country have arrived in Western Europe and America since.

The question of the refugees was aggravated by the fact that Germany expelled them in a destitute condition, robbing them of practically all their property before they left the country. The refugees from Central Europe went primarily to the U.S. which has admitted them at the rate of about 30,000 a year (the whole immigration quota for their respective countries being allotted to them), to Palestine (about 180,000), to various South American countries, to Great Britain (about 40,000), France (15,000), and in smaller numbers to Holland, Switzerland and many other countries all over the world, including Turkey and China (Shanghai). Investigations regarding the possibilities of mass settlement in British Guiana, East Africa and other parts of the world have had no practical result so far, climatic and financial conditions being strongly adverse.

There is a High Commissioner of the League for refugee affairs, residing in London (Sir Herbert Emerson at present) and in contact with the private (mainly Jewish) organisations which take care of the refugees.

German refugees have founded a number of new industries in the countries where they have settled, and such refugee scientists and artists as Einstein, Freud, Bruno Walter, Busch and Elizabeth Bergner have proved a valuable addition to their respective professions in their countries of asylum.

The end of the Spanish civil war brought another wave of 350,000 refugees, reaching within a few weeks the size of the

whole German exodus since 1933. The entire burden of this emigration has fallen on France, except for a small number admitted to Mexico. The German invasion of Poland sent 50,000 refugees to Rumania and Hungary. In China nearly ten million people are reported to have become homeless through the Japanese advance.

On President Roosevelt's suggestion, an international conference on the refugee problem was held at Evian, Switzerland, in July 1938, and an inter-governmental committee, known as the Evian Committee was set up. It tried in vain to induce Germany to permit the transfer of more of the refugee's property. The Committee met again in Washington in October 1939, but no tangible results were achieved.

REICHSTAG, name of the German Parliament.

REICHSTAG FIRE, the fire of the German Parliament House on February 27, 1933, is believed to have been organised by the National-Socialists shortly after their advent to power in order to create a pretext for crushing the Communists and other opponents. A young Dutchman named van der Lubbe was found on the spot, with a Communist Party membership book in his pocket, and three Bulgarian Communists living in Berlin, Dimitroff, Taness and Popoff, were arrested as alleged incendiaries, together with Herr Torgler, a German Communist Deputy. The Nazis declared that the fire had been started by the Communists as a signal for a general uprising, the precise plans for which they claimed to have found. To save the country from the "Communist danger", a wave of terror and wholesale arrests swept Germany after the fire, and the story, impressing naive minds, helped the Nazis to win the election which had been impending. The "overwhelming material" allegedly found in respect of the Communist revolt was never published, but a trial was held several months later at the German Supreme Court in Leipzig of van der Lubbe, Torgler and the three Bulgarians. The brilliant defence of Dimitroff has become famous; he converted the trial into an indictment of the National-Socialists, and the Court had to acquit him, together with Taness, Popoff and Torgler. Van der Lubbe, however, was sentenced to death and executed; he had been completely apathetic and incapable of coherent speech during the whole trial. A "counter-trial" was held by a jury of notable international personalities in London, and as a result a Brown Book was issued with evidence to show that the Nazis themselves had set the Reichstag on fire. Certain facts pointed to the personal direction of Dr Göring who was president of the Reichstag at that time, and in control of an underground passage from his house to the Reichstag. The Reichstag building has not been restored.

REPARATIONS, the war indemnities to be paid by Germany under the peace treaty of Versailles. The treaty left the total amount of the reparations open; subsequently they were fixed at 132,000,000,000 marks in gold. Payment of this sum proved impossible, and after Germany's financial collapse in 1923 a new reparations scheme known as the Dawes Plan was worked out in 1924. It provided for German payments of 2,000,000,000

REPUBLICAN PARTY]

marks per year without fixing a definite total amount. Even this proved to be too high and another scheme known as the Young Plan was adopted in 1929. It fixed the total at 37 milliards of marks payable in 59 annual instalments, beginning with 600,000,000 marks, increasing to 1,200,000,000 marks and subsequently decreasing again. In connection with the economic crisis which broke out at the same time Germany ceased payments in 1931, and an international conference at Lausanne in 1932 decided to abolish the reparations altogether. The total payments made by Germany under the various schemes, including deliveries in kind, aggregated about 17,000,000,000 marks, a fraction of the costs of the war, and they were more than offset by the loans granted to Germany by the U.S.A., Britain and other countries in the period from 1924 to 1930. Such loans, including short-term deposits, totalled 27,000,000,000 marks. Neither principal nor interest has been paid since 1931, except for a small proportion. It would seem that the costs of a modern war are too high to be paid by the defeated country. The sums exacted subsequently from the German people by Hitler for rearmament and other unproductive purposes by far exceeded the payments prescribed by the last two reparations plans. But to collect the amount at home is one thing and to transfer it to the creditor abroad is another if the debtor has neither gold nor foreign balances. Germany could have paid in goods only and this in turn would have disturbed the creditor countries' own trade, causing commercial losses outweighing the financial gains.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, one of the two great parties in the U.S.A., the other being the Democratic. The name was originally used as a second name for the Democratic party until in 1828 the high-tariff adherents under John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay broke away from it as "National Republicans" or "Whigs". The present Republican Party arose in 1854 as the anti-slavery party out of "Whigs" and Northern Democrats. It came to power with Lincoln in 1860 and ruled, with two interruptions (the two Cleveland administrations in 1884 and MacKinley 1892), until 1912. Its policies about the end of the 19th century were high-tariffs, imperialism and strengthening of the federal power (to-day the reverse). After the second Wilson administration, the Republican Party came again to power in 1920, checked ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and U.S. entry into the League, supplied the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations, but suffered a defeat in 1932 owing to the great economic slump, giving place to a strong democratic majority. The party is largely but not entirely isolationist, and is sometimes regarded as the more right-wing of the two American parties. The two parties, however, cannot be exactly placed within the left-and-right pattern, and there are "progressive" and "conservative" members in both. The 1936 party platform provides in domestic policy: tariff protection, strengthening of local self-government, independence of the Supreme Court, aid to farmers, repeal of Federal laws hindering prosperity (meaning the New Deal), cessation of the spending policy, balanced budget, tax revision, no further devaluation,

protection of the rights of labour, opposing monopolies; in foreign policy: collection of Allied debts, non-recognition of gains made by violation of treaties, joining neither League nor World Court, most-favoured nation principle, no imperialism in South America, only promotion of welfare and common interests there, limitation of armaments, control of arms traffic. The Republican Party has its traditional basis in the industrial North. It holds 174 out of 435 seats in the House of Representatives and 27 out of 96 seats in the Senate. Most important leaders are: Alfred M. Landon, presidential candidate of 1936, Herbert Hoover, former President, John D. Hamilton, Chairman of the National Republican Committee; Charles L. MacNary, party leader in the Senate, Joseph W. Martin, party leader in the House of Representatives.

REYNAUD, Paul, French politician. Born October 15, 1878, at Barcelonette, Basses-Alpes, became a lawyer in Paris, served in the last war (croix de guerre), for a time in Admiral Koltschak's army in Siberia during the Russian Revolution; was deputy for Basses-Alpes till 1925, was returned again for a Paris constituency in 1928, joined Flandin's moderate right-wing Democratic Alliance (> France); was Minister of Colonies, Justice, Finance in various Flandin and Tardieu cabinets after 1930; Minister of Finance under Daladier April 1938-March 1940; improved France's financial situation by decrees increasing taxation and by cuts in public works expenditure; was critical of the > appeasement policy, broke away from Flandin's pro-appeasement party after > Munich, has been independent since. Won a considerable reputation by his speeches demanding a rigorous conduct of the war, became French Prime Minister on March 23, 1940, in succession to > Daladier.

RIBBENTROP, Joachim von, German Foreign Minister, born 1899, served in the World War of 1914-1918, became a sales agent in wines afterwards, came into connection with the champagne firm of Henkell at Cologne in this capacity and married the daughter of the proprietor. Joined the Nazi Party in 1932, rose quickly, became Hitler's plenipotentiary for foreign affairs and established a sort of second foreign office besides the official one of Baron Neurath, then Foreign Minister, after Hitler's advent to power. Worked for a more daring and adventurous German policy, became German Ambassador in London subsequently, where he attracted attention by using the Nazi salute at Court and other unusual features of his social behaviour. Was recalled to Germany and appointed Foreign Minister in place of Neurath at the end of 1937, his nomination marking the beginning of Hitler's expansionist undertakings.

Ribbentrop is believed to have a special antipathy to Britain, and to have assured Hitler before the outbreak of the present war that the British would not fight. He signed the German-Soviet Pact on August 23, on behalf of Germany.

RIZA SHAH (also spelt Reza), ruler of > Iran, the former Persia.

ROOSEVELT]

ROOSEVELT, Franklin Delano, President of the United States of America, born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, N.Y., descendant of a Dutch family which came to America in 1649. Delano is his mother's name. He is remotely related to the family of Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the U.S. Franklin D. Roosevelt graduated at Harvard in 1904 and at Columbia Law School in 1907. He joined the Democratic Party and was elected to the New York State Senate in 1910. He supported Woodrow Wilson's candidacy in 1912 and was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the first Wilson Administration. He was sent to Europe on army inspection in 1918, and again in charge of demobilisation of the American armies in 1919. Defeated as a candidate for the vice-presidency in 1920, Roosevelt resumed his practice as a lawyer in New York and was vice-president of the Fidelity and Deposit Co. of New York City until 1928. In August 1921 he was stricken with infantile paralysis, which left him with his legs paralysed. This did not, however, affect his will-power, strong spirit and political activity. In 1928 he was elected Governor of New York and re-elected in 1930. In 1932 he was elected President of the United States and assumed office on March 4, 1933, starting on a policy of bold social and economic reforms known as the > New Deal. In 1936 he was re-elected and his second term extends to January 20, 1941. A champion of democracy, President Roosevelt has never concealed his dislike of the dictatorships and his sympathies with the British Commonwealth and France. He urged, and eventually effected, the repeal of the > Neutrality Act in spite of the opposition of the isolationists.

ROSENBERG, Alfred, chief theoretician of the German Nazi Party, born 1894 at Reval, then situated in Russia, served in the Russian army in the World War of 1914, came to Germany after the war, joined Hitler in the beginning of his political activity. Wrote *The Myth of the 20th Century*, the standard work of Nazi ideology. The myth is that of the Nordic race and the nationalist, world-conquering German State. Rosenberg sees the principal evil of modern history in the French Revolution of 1789 which removed the Nordic aristocracy of France and gave rise to the rule of people of inferior race. They spread the decomposing ideas of liberalism. Liberalism developed into Marxism which produced the Russian revolution. Germany must combat the ideas of the French revolution and undo their effects. Czechs, Poles, Russians and other Slavs are inferior peoples which are neither worthy nor capable of independent existence, and they must be subdued by Germany. Rosenberg also rejects Christianity and recommends his myth in its place. In his political practice, his activities have been concentrated on leading the Nazi campaign against the Churches. He is editor-in-chief of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the party he holds the rank of *Reichsleiter*, the highest possible. He still speaks German with a pronounced foreign accent.

ROYAL DUTCH-SHELL, one of the largest > oil combines in the world. Controls about one-quarter of world oil pro-

duction. Leading companies of the combine are the Royal Dutch Petroleum Co. at The Hague, Holland, and the Shell Transport Co. Ltd. in London. These two formerly independent companies joined forces in 1905 and have formed a unit for all practical purposes since. They control a vast system of oil-producing, oil-refining, oil-transporting and oil-distributing companies throughout the world. Royal Dutch-Shell producing interests extend to the Dutch Indies, U.S.A., Iraq, Egypt, Rumania, Trinidad, Burma, Venezuela and other countries; large Mexican interests were expropriated in 1938.

RUMANIA, 113,000 sq. m., population 19,500,000, largest of the Balkan States, capital Bucharest. Ruler: King > Carol II of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty. The country is composed of the old Kingdom of Rumania, Transylvania (formerly Hungarian), the Bukovina (formerly Austrian) and Bessarabia (formerly Russian), the latter provinces having been acquired after the World War. After the death in 1927 of King Ferdinand II, his infant grandson, Michael, was proclaimed King, the Crown Prince, Carol, having been forced to resign by the powerful Ion Bratianu, Rumania's leading politician at that time. Bratianu himself died in 1927, and with him vanished the power of the Liberal Party. The democratic Peasant Party (National Zaranist) of > Maniu was called to the Government after the election of 1928, but its attempts to create a democratic administration failed. Maniu favoured Prince Carol's return as Regent in 1930, but resigned the premiership when Carol became king.

The Liberal Party, which, in the meantime, had rallied again and shifted to the right, struggled against the left-wing National Zaranists, and various Cabinets followed each other during the next few years, each arranging successful elections in its own favour. An electoral law of 1926 (a Bratianu creation), stipulated that the party reaching 40% of the vote should obtain 60% of the seats in Parliament, and there was little difficulty for the party in power to arrange for the requisite 40%. Successive premiers were: Professor Iorga, the King's former tutor and chief of the right-wing National Union Party; Vaida-Voevod, co-founder of the National Zaranist Party, which later split off and turned to the right; Maniu again; once more Vaida-Voevod; and finally Tătărescu, leader of the Liberals. The latter was premier 1936-1937, but in the election of December 1937 something unforeseen happened: the Tătărescu party failed to secure the prescribed 40% of the vote, and was returned with only 38%. This was partly due to Maniu's agitation, but still more to the activities of the fascist "Iron Guard" of Codreanu, an agency of German Nazism which harped especially on the chord of Anti-Semitism, traditionally attractive in Rumania. A similar but rival party, the "National Christian Front" of Goga and Căza, though it had obtained only 9% of the vote, was called to the Government. Goga became premier, the parliament was dissolved and no new parliament has been elected since. Goga embarked on a vehement anti-Jewish policy along Nazi lines. The King, seeing his own power threatened by the facility,

dismissed Goga in February 1938. The King now proceeded to an open dictatorship, disbanded all parties and called a Cabinet of "national concentration" under Patriarch Miron Christea. The anti-Jewish legislation was not put into effect, and while a substantial amount of Anti-Semitism remained official policy so as to placate the extreme right-wing, the actual situation of the Jews in Rumania has not been very different from their pre-Goga status. A new constitution was drawn up and accepted by a plebiscite with open verbal voting, in February 1938. It provides for a Lower House elected according to the corporate system by three guilds, agriculture, industry and free professions, and a senate, one-half of which is appointed by the King. The King alone may initiate legislation, and has the right of veto in respect of all acts of parliament. The government is non-parliamentary and responsible only to the King. Equality of all citizens is ensured in theory, but Government posts may be held only by persons of "Rumanian race". The constitution forbids the advocacy of a change in the form of government, of a redistribution of wealth and of class troubles. When Iron Guard activities were renewed in autumn 1938 the King ordered the arrest of Codreanu and a number of other Iron Guard leaders; and they were shot "while attempting to escape". In January 1939 it was announced that a "Grand Council" as an advisory body was to replace the parliament. After the death in March 1939 of Patriarch Christea, M. Calinescu was appointed Prime Minister. He was shot by Iron Guard followers in October 1939, and succeeded by Argetoianu. On November 23, 1939, Tartarescu, ex-Liberal Premier, who had been Ambassador to France in the meantime, was re-appointed Premier and formed a Government on a broader basis. Tartarescu is regarded as pro-French. The Iron Guard was re-admitted in March 1940, presumably under German pressure.

Rumania's principal export articles are oil, wheat, maize and timber. Largest customer is Germany (controlling about one-third of the foreign trade), then follow at a great distance Britain, France and Italy. Rumania concluded a trade agreement with Germany in April 1939, giving Germany broad economic rights in Rumania, including the right of prospecting for oil. Similar rights, however, were accorded to Britain in a subsequent treaty. Germany seeks control of Rumania because of her oil; Rumania produced 6,000,000 tons of oil in 1939 which would suffice for Germany's peacetime and a substantial part of her wartime requirements. The oil output has been decreasing in the last few years. On outbreak of the present war Rumania declared neutrality. Germany and the Allies have since been competing in the purchase of Rumanian products, especially oil, and under German pressure Rumania has consented to increase her deliveries to Germany. In 1939, Rumania exported 1,285,000 tons of oil to Germany (including Czechoslovakia), 650,000 tons to Italy, 500,000 tons to Britain and 250,000 tons to France. The quota promised to Germany in 1940 is 1,820,000 tons. Before the war the bulk of Rumanian oil to Germany used to be shipped by the sea route which is

now closed by the Allied blockade. Railways and (in summer) the Danube offer alternative facilities but transport difficulties have already arisen.

The province of [>] Transylvania has substantial Hungarian and German minorities and is the object of Hungarian as well as German claims. Other problems are the [>] Dobruja, a southern province taken from Bulgaria in 1913, containing a Bulgarian minority of 350,000, whose restoration is claimed by Bulgaria; and the Jewish question, Rumania containing 800,000 Jews. There is an old quarrel with Russia over [>] Bessarabia, the north-eastern province. The Rumanian army numbers 300,000 in peace and 1,500,000 in war. See map of the Danube Basin I.

RUTHENIANS, also Ruthenes, a name used for the Ukrainian-speaking population of Eastern Galicia (Poland) and Subcarpathian Russia (formerly Czechoslovak, now Hungarian). The latter province is sometimes referred to as Ruthenia.

SA]

SA, German contraction for *Sturm-Abteilung*, storm troop, the Nazi party army. The SA was organised in 1922 ostensibly for the purpose of protecting party meetings but in fact intended as the army of a Nazi revolution. The German republican authorities tolerated it because they saw in it, as in other semi-military organisations, a substitute for the forbidden army. When Hitler came to power in 1933 the SA assumed a sort of official character. Its significance was reduced by the execution of many of its leaders in the Blood Bath of June 30, 1934 (> Hitler) and another branch of the party troops, the > SS, became prominent in the party forces. Yet the SA was gradually reorganised and continues to play an important part in the Nazi system. It has provided military training for hundreds of thousands of Germans. The organisation is along army lines, with regiments ("standards"), brigades, divisions ("groups") and army corps ("super-groups"). Service is generally performed as a spare-time occupation. The SA comprises only infantry and some cavalry. No figures are published about its strength, estimates varying from 800,000 to 2,000,000. The task of the SA is the defence of the Nazi dictatorship. Its chief is Herr Lutze.

SAADABAD, Pact of, a regional agreement concluded in 1934 between > Turkey, > Iraq, > Iran, and > Afghanistan. It provides for political collaboration and consultation. (> Panislamism)

SALAZAR, Dr. António d'Oliveira, Portuguese Prime Minister, born 1888 at Santa Comba, the son of a poor smallholder, became Professor of Economics at the University of Coimbra. After the military *coup d'état* of May 28, 1926 (> Portugal) he was appointed Minister of Finance but resigned after a few days. He was recalled in the same capacity in 1928, straightened out the Portuguese budget, was offered the premiership in 1932 which he has held since, building it up to a virtual dictatorship. Salazar is the only European dictator who came to power not by struggle but by invitation. He set out to rebuild Portugal along the lines of the *Estado Novo*, the New State. He drafted a new constitution, authoritarian and corporate; it was accepted by plebiscite in 1933. Salazar has since been engaged in carrying out a programme of reforms, including the improvement of social conditions, industrial development, public works and education. After he came to power he organised the *União Nacional*, (the only authorised political movement in Portugal) with the Portuguese Legion and the Youth Movement. His policy has been formed along Fascist lines, but his regime is the mildest of all the European dictatorships. Three typical remarks show his moderate but realistic outlook: "The accounting department is always right"— "You must fear the remedies more than the disease itself"— "The idea of government, by its very definition, is bound up with truth and justice."

SANCTIONS, measures intended to enforce the fulfilment of international treaty obligations. According to the Treaty of

Versailles, measures taken to enforce Germany's obligations under the Treaty were not to be regarded as hostile acts. Sanctions were actually taken in the form of the occupation of Düsseldorf and other German towns in 1921 and of the Ruhr area in 1923 when Germany had failed to pay reparations. Sanctions were embodied in the Covenant of the > League of Nations. Art. 16 provides for economic and military sanctions against countries proceeding to war in defiance of Covenant provisions. League sanctions were applied during the Italo-Abyssinian war. (> Abyssinia.)

SATYAGRAHA, non-violent resistance in India. (> Gandhi.)

SAUDI ARABIA, also **SAUDIYE**, (pronounced Sa'oodi, Sa'oodiye), the independent Arab kingdom of > Ibn Saud (Sa'ood), covering the interior of the Arab Peninsula (Arabia proper) and the Hedjaz on the Red Sea coast. The area is approximately 450,000 sq. m., the population 4,500,000. The capital is Er Riyadh, in the Nejd, the heart of Arabia. Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Islam, are within Saudi Arabia, Mecca being a sort of second capital, and Jeddah on the Red Sea its chief port. The vast but thinly populated and, for a great part, desert-covered realm is the personal creation of Ibn Saud who formed it in 1932 by the union of the Nejd and the Hedjaz. The Nejd is the seat of the Wahhabis, a strict, puritan and warlike Islamic sect. The country is still in a backward condition; modern features are motor transport, though on poor roads, and the modern equipment of a small regular army, including a few tanks and aircraft. The Hedjaz Railway connects Damascus with Medina, but the Hedjaz section is not in use at present. The currency unit is the Riyal, equal to the Indian rupee. The Standard Oil Co. of California holds oil concessions in the eastern part of Saudiye, and some oil was struck in 1939. Saudiye is on terms of friendship with Britain, has also treaties of friendship with Egypt and Iraq. A war waged in 1934 against the > Yemen ended with a Yemenite defeat. Saudiye had British, the Yemen Italian, support in this struggle.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN]

President of the Reichsbank again by Hitler in 1933, also Minister of Economics and virtual economic dictator of Germany. Invented financial devices to limit (and to conceal) the inflation linked up with Nazi rearmament, including the famous Work Creation Bills, Delivery Notes and Blocked Marks; was decorated by Hitler with the Golden Party Badge in 1936. Basically an adherent of orthodox economics and the spokesman of big business, he tried to put brakes on the unlimited spending policy after 1936, showed also opposition to the autarkist > Four-Year Plan and to the annihilation of the Jews. In 1936 > Göring, Four-Year Plan man, took over from Schacht the decisive influence on the direction of German economic life; in 1938 Schacht was ousted by Dr. Funk first from the Economic Ministry, then from the Reichsbank. He went to India in the summer of 1939. He returned to Germany at the outbreak of war, and is said to be advising Hitler on economic warfare.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, a province in North Germany, 5,300 sq. m., taken from Denmark by Prussia in 1864. The Danish population in the northern part claimed return to Denmark over half a century, and in 1920 a plebiscite was held under the peace treaty of Versailles, resulting in the return to Denmark of North Schleswig. The district has since been called South Jutland. It includes a German minority of 35,000, enjoying broad rights and having German schools. German aspirations to the reacquisition of the province continue. A Danish minority of 25,000 has been left in South Schleswig which remained German.

SCHNEIDER (-CREUSOT), Eugène, leading French steel and armament industrialist, gained control of Czech > Skoda Works, Polish iron-works and other concerns in East Europe in 1922, was a political factor behind the scenes. His importance was reduced by Blum's nationalisation of armament works in 1936, affecting a substantial part of the works at Le Creusot, and the loss of Czech and Polish interests to Germany through the events of 1939.

SCHUSCHNIGG, Dr. Kurt von; late Austrian Chancellor. Born 1897, Minister in various Austrian Cabinets, Chancellor after the assassination of Dollfuss in July 1934, adopted a corporate system under Catholic influence, tried to restore the monarchy under the > Habsburgs; but was confronted with Hitler's demand for the annexation of Austria by Germany. Schuschnigg tried to make a stand against Hitler but was summoned to the Obersalzberg, the German dictator's residence, and forced by threats to sign an agreement opening up the way for Nazism in Austria. Schuschnigg, on his return, still tried to organise a plebiscite against Hitler, but this was forestalled by the sudden march-in of German troops on March 12, 1938, and the subsequent annexation of Austria. Schuschnigg was arrested and is still a prisoner.

SIAM, now officially called > Thailand.

SIEGFRIED LINE, the German line of fortifications along the western frontier. The German counterpart of the French > Maginot Line. The Siegfried Line was hurriedly con-

structed within three months in the summer of 1938. It has been improved in 1939.

SIMON, Sir John, British statesman, born February 28, 1873. Son of the late Rev. Edwin Simon, educated at Edinburgh and Oxford, called to the Bar in 1891. Became a Liberal M.P. in 1906, was Solicitor-General 1910-1913, Attorney-General 1913-1915, Home Secretary 1915-1916, went on active service in France as a major in the R.A.F. 1917-1918, was mentioned in despatches. In 1922 he was elected Liberal M.P. for the Spenn Valley Division of Yorkshire, which seat he has held since. In 1931 he joined the National Liberals, and was Foreign Secretary 1931-1935, then again Home Secretary 1935-1937. Since 1937 he has been Chancellor of the Exchequer and a very influential member of the Cabinet, appearing as its spokesman also on questions of foreign policy on important occasions. Was called to the War Cabinet on September 3, 1939.

SINCLAIR, Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald, 4th Baronet, born October 22, 1890, at Ulbster, Caithness, Scotland; educated at Eton and Sandhurst, joined the army in 1910, served at the War Office and Colonial Office 1919-1922; Liberal M.P. for Caithness and Sutherland since 1922, Secretary for Scotland 1931-1932, Chairman of the Liberal Party since 1935. Owns 100,000 acres. Criticised > appeasement policy, 1937-1938, has supported Government's war effort since September 1939 while remaining in opposition.

SINGAPORE, part of the Straits Settlements Colony, British, important naval base and commercial port in the East. Singapore controls the straits leading from the China Sea to the Indian Ocean and is heavily fortified. The construction of the new naval base, one of the largest and probably the most modern in the world, was finished in 1938. Singapore has 700,000 inhabitants of whom 550,000 are Chinese.

SINKIANG, Chinese name for Chinese Turkestan, north-western province of China, 550,000 sq. m., 1,200,000 inhabitants (Turcomans, Chinese, Mongolians and others). Capital is Urumchi. The territory is virtually under Soviet Russian control. It is of strategic importance.

SIT-DOWN STRIKE, a sort of strike in which the strikers do not leave the plant but stay in it day and night. It was first used by Polish coal miners in 1934, who drew great attention to their case by refusing to leave the mines until their demands were fulfilled. The method spread quickly to other countries, mainly France and the U.S.A. Sit-down strikes were at their highest in 1936, since when their use has diminished.

SKODA WORKS, large armament factories and iron foundries at Pilsen, Bohemia. The works were formerly a Czech company controlled by the French group of > Schneider-Creusot, came under German control through the occupation of Czechoslovakia. They are among the world's largest ordnance factories and employ 22,000 workers.

SLAVS, a group of peoples in East and South-East Europe, comprising the Russians (80 millions), the Ukrainians (30 millions),

SLOVAKS]

the White Russians (6 millions), the Poles (7 millions), the Czechs (7 millions), the Slovaks (2.5 millions), the Yugoslavs, divided into the Serbians (6 millions), the Croats (4 millions) and the Slovenes (1 million), and finally the Bulgarians (4 millions). All Slav languages are closely related to each other. From 1860 to 1914 a movement for > Panslavism was on foot for the union of all Slav peoples in one Empire under Russian leadership. Culturally the Slav peoples, with the exception of the Czechs, are not yet up to West European standards, but as a race, the Slavs are on the up-trend, and have a considerably higher birth-rate than other European peoples.

SLOVAKS, a Slav people in the northern Carpathians, neighbouring with, and closely related to, the Czechs. Their language is distinct from Czech, but so closely akin to it that it has often been regarded as a mere variant of it. The Slovaks were under Hungarian domination for many centuries and subject to gradual Magyarisation until > Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 as a result of the first World War. The Slovaks lived in a common State with the Czechs for 20 years; about 30% of them voted for the clerical Slovak People's Party led by Father Hlinka and striving for Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia. Hlinka died in August, 1938, but the next October Slovakia obtained autonomy when the re-organisation of Czechoslovakia took place after the Munich agreement, and a virtual dictatorship of the People's Party was set up, closely following Nazi lines. On March 10, 1939, Nazi Germany engineered an uprising in Bratislava, the Slovak capital, and complete independence was declared under Father Tiso, Hlinka's successor. Slovakia has been a puppet State under German "protection" since. It has been occupied by German troops and forced to co-operate with Germany in the war with Poland. Slovaks abroad have been co-operating with the Czechs on the side of the Allies, and have participated in the formation of the Czechoslovak National Committee in London and Paris.

SLOVENES, a South Slav people inhabiting the former Austrian province of Krain and the southern parts of Styria in the south-eastern Alps, now belonging to > Yugoslavia. The Slovenes number 1,000,000 and are Roman Catholics. They were under Austrian rule for many centuries, but in permanent conflict with the German-speaking Austrians. After the World War of 1914-1918 they were united with Serbia, Croatia and other South Slav regions into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Slovene language is about as different from Serbo-Croatian as Danish is from Swedish. Slovene was made an official language along with Serbian and Croatian. Nevertheless, the Slovenes have voiced grievances over the centralism of Belgrade and would favour a federalistic solution in common with the Croats. They are rather anti-German. The capital of Slovenia is Ljubljana, called Laibach under Austrian rule, and the leader of the Slovenic People's Party is Father Koroschetz. The region is of importance because of its wealth in iron ore and its position on the way from Germany (Austria) to Triest on the Adriatic.

SMIGLY-RYDZ, Edward, Polish Field-Marshal, born 1886 in Galicia, was a painter at Cracow originally, joined Pilsudski when he organised the Polish Legion on the Austrian side of the World War in 1914, added the alias of Smigly ("lightning") to his name Rydz. When Pilsudski was imprisoned in Germany in 1917, Smigly-Rydz carried on as his lieutenant. Assisted Pilsudski in 1919 and 1920 in establishing the Polish State and repulsing the Russian attack, became General, helped Pilsudski again in the *coup d'état* of 1926. When Pilsudski died in 1935, he designated Smigly-Rydz as his successor. Smigly-Rydz was made Marshal and Inspector-General of the Polish forces. Like Pilsudski he was the virtual leader of Poland in the following years. He was the first man in Europe to resist Hitler, and directed the Polish fight against Nazi aggression in 1939. When the Polish armies were defeated by Nazi superiority in aircraft and tanks, and by the Soviet attack in the rear, Marshal Smigly-Rydz went to Rumania with the Polish Government. The new Polish Government, set up in Paris, was critical of the manner in which Smigly-Rydz had conducted the campaign, and he was relieved of his functions in November 1939. (> Poland.)

SMUTS, Lieut.-Gen. Rt. Hon. Jan Christian, Prime Minister of South Africa; born 1870, fought the British in the South African War, was one of the Boer peace delegates at Pretoria in 1902, fostered reconciliation between Boers and British subsequently, co-operated with Botha in building up the Union of South Africa within the British Commonwealth, was Minister of Finance in Botha's first Government in 1910, commanded the British Forces in the German East Africa campaign in the World War of 1914, was called to the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, took a most active part in conducting the war to a victorious end, attended the peace conference at Versailles, was South African Prime Minister subsequently, leading the moderate nationalist, pro-Empire South African Party. Was overthrown by > Hertzog's radical nationalist movement in 1924 but merged his party with Hertzog's in 1934 on a compromise basis, the United South African National Party being the result. Was Deputy Prime Minister after, but when the present war broke out, Smuts advocated co-operation of South Africa with Britain while Hertzog urged neutrality. Smuts prevailed in Parliament with a vote of 80:67; Hertzog

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS]

to the total of A payments, and as the total of prices is determined by $A + B$, purchasing power other than A must be provided for a proportion of the product equal to B. This supplementary purchasing power has hitherto been supplied by new money created by the banks. This money has been used to grant loans which had to be repaid in due course. So a constant flow of money has been going to the banks and been lost as purchasing power. This leads to the total of prices exceeding the total of incomes or to what is called over-production. Shortage of money is the cause of all economic crises. Major Douglas suggests that the banks should place the new money, which they, within the framework of the present credit system, create every day, in the hands of the consumer. The plan is that the retailer would have to sell the goods below cost, and his loss plus a commission would be credited to his account at the bank. The prices would be arranged so that the total wages, salaries and dividends would be sufficient to buy all the goods. Another idea of increasing purchasing power is the "national dividend", paid to everyone according to the prosperity of the country.

The adherents of the Social Credit Party wear green shirts and use a green flag. Orthodox critics say that the system would lead to inflation, despite all safeguards, and that it neglects the need for the formation of fresh capital, unduly stressing the interests of consumption. Socialist critics say that the system seeks the remedies for social evils in the sphere of circulation only, instead of tackling the sphere of production in the capitalist organisation of which socialism sees the cause of crises and all other evils. Indeed, the Social Credit movement recognises private property as it is, and relies on capitalist enterprise, competition and profit as the motive power of economic activities, merely regulating them from the money side. An attempt to realise the Social Credit programme was made by Prime Minister Aberhart of Alberta, a province of Canada, but vetoed by the Federal authorities.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, name of the Socialist Labour parties in Germany (now illegal), Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Hungary.

SOCIALISM, a system of common property and planned economy, and the political movement aiming at its establishment. Modern socialism began with the so-called Utopians in the first half of the 19th century, describing ideal human societies in books. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) had been the first to depict an ideal society with socialist institutions in his "Utopia"; hence the name. The Utopians hoped to reach their aims not by revolution but by persistent propaganda of their ideas. The Frenchman F. C. Fourier (1772-1837) proposed a system of associative enterprise, society to be organised in self-contained-communities called *phalanstères*. Robert Owen (1771-1858), a textile manufacturer at Lanark, established a model factory there and devoted most of his fortune to the foundation of model socialist communities in England and America. These experiments failed, but Owen exerted considerable influence on the movements of co-operativism, trade unionism and chartism.

In 1848, socialism first appeared as a political factor. In France Proudhon (> anarchism) advocated a system of co-operatives and "exchange banks" while Louis Blanc established *ateliers nationaux*, national workshops, as a nucleus of nationalised industry. Both were opposed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, two German socialists who had just founded the "League of Communists" and proclaimed a new system of socialism, embodied in the Communist Manifesto. It rejected the idea that socialism could be realised through an appeal to humanity and morality, and declared socialism a matter of class struggle. Organisation of the proletariat on a class basis followed by revolution was held to be the only way to socialism. (> Marxism.) The Utopian experiments were superseded by organised socialist parties in the following two decades, and Marxism, calling itself also "scientific socialism", gradually ousted the former theories.

Germany became the centre of socialism. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) founded the German Socialist Party and developed semi-Marxian theories, at one time reverting to Utopianism by proposing a "social monarchy" which would substitute "productive associations" of a socialist character for capitalistic industry. Marx combated the theories of Lassalle, who was killed in a duel over a love affair in 1864. The Marxist and the Lassallean wings of the Party joined forces in 1868 on the basis of an essentially Marxist programme. The Social Democratic Party, as it was henceforth called, grew rapidly under the leadership of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, directed from London by Marx and Engels. The 'eighties and 'nineties saw the rise of Socialist parties in most countries, including Britain, France, Austria and Russia.

junior, had organised the Spartacus League, which had a great share in the preparation of the German revolution in November 1918 which ended the war. The moderate Socialists came to power while the radicals tried to drive the half-hearted revolution farther. But Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the radical leaders, were killed, and the uprisings of the Spartacus faction and the Communist Party into which it developed were put down by the Government. The split in socialism was sealed by the formation of the Third or Communist International in Moscow in 1920. (> Communism.) Large Communist Parties broke off from the Socialist bodies in most of the Continental countries, while the moderate factions entered the Government in many States. They concentrated on social legislation, policies of a general liberal-democratic character and the strengthening of State influence on economic life, declaring, however, that they would refrain from the adoption of an actual socialistic system so long as there should not be a majority in favour of it. The Socialist International was renewed as a loose association with its seat at Zürich, Switzerland. Half-way between the moderate Socialists and the Communists stood the Independent Socialists who set up a "Two-and-a-half International" in 1922; it soon vanished again and most of the Independents merged with the moderate Socialists. Repeated attempts at a reconciliation between the Second and the Third Internationals failed, and bitter struggle between them filled the years 1922-1933. The split in the Labour movement was one of the main causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany which eventually smashed both Socialist factions. Subsequent attempts to bridge the rift between Socialists and Communists by the > Popular Front Movement had only temporary effect in Spain and France. The advance of international Fascism during the period of German-Italian-Spanish collaboration indirectly paralysed the policies of the Socialist parties in the democratic countries. They tolerated a substantial degree of measures contrary to Socialist principles for fear of opening the way to Fascism by the removal of conservative yet democratic Governments. Since the outbreak of the present war the British and French Socialists have been supporting their countries in the pursuance of the war against Hitlerism. The importance of the Socialist International has been greatly reduced.

Besides the two main currents in Socialism, democratic Socialism and Communism, which aim essentially at a centralised, State-controlled planned economy, there are various by-currents with different conceptions such as > Anarchism, advocating stateless, decentralised Socialism, > Syndicalism, standing for a socialistic system based on the trade unions, Co-operativism, striving to build up a socialist system through the collaboration of co-operative societies, and Christian Socialism exemplified in the Catholic Labour Movement, not exactly socialist but advocating a Corporate State.

British Socialism is mainly represented by the > Labour Party, having a non-Marxist, evolutionary platform based on

the programme of the > Fabians. A small Marxist current is represented by the > Independent Labour Party. Communism is insignificant in Britain. In the United States there is only a small Labour Party. In Germany the aggregate Socialist and Communist votes had reached 38 per cent. of the total vote before Hitler. At present the Socialist parties there are suppressed, but they continue to have a secret following, and there are nuclei of illegal organisations. The Socialist votes in the West and North European countries are between 30 and 40 per cent.

The > Soviet Union is a State with an all-round socialist system. Socialist measures have also been taken in > Mexico. Other countries have not adopted socialist policies so far, but State control and State initiative in economics have become more and more outspoken throughout the world. These things are sometimes termed, somewhat indefinitely, "State capitalism". They point to the gradual development of elements of organised economy within capitalist society, and most Socialists believe they mark a preliminary stage to actual socialism.

SOKOL, Czech national gymnastic movement, 1,000,000 members, has played a great part in the Czech national awakening in the 19th century and in Czech public life to the present day. Sokol associations are also found in other > Slav countries, but not in Soviet Russia.

"**SOLID SOUTH**," an American political term referring to the fact that the Southern States have for a very long time invariably voted for the > Democratic Party.

SOREL, Georges (1847-1922), French social philosopher, theoretician of > syndicalism, but also described by Mussolini as an inspirer of > Fascism. Sorel reflected the influence of Proudhon and Bakunin (> anarchism). He denied the optimistic belief in progress and advocated a heroic conception of life instead. This he saw embodied in the workers, possessing "the virtues of producers and warriors", while the "third estate", the > *bourgeoisie*, which had destroyed the "reign of order", was in "moral disintegration". Sorel criticised Marxism for its progressism and alleged automaticism, and stressed the personal and moral factor in class struggle. "Heroes of a social war", said Sorel, would form "élites" to lead on to a new epoch in civilisation. A semi-mystical theory of violence, "direct action" and the "myth" of the general strike which would overthrow capitalism were elements of Sorel's teaching. Sorel initially fought side by side with Jaurès in the Dreyfus affair, championed the syndicalist cause subsequently, but turned towards French right-wing nationalists around the > "Action Française" in the last pre-war years. The Great War of 1914-1918 appeared to him as the "crusade of democracy" and "demagogic plutocracy". He hailed Russian communism and added an essay "Pour Létine" to a post-war edition of his book "Réflexions sur la violence". Then he welcomed fascism in the same way. He appreciated both movements because they stood for an "imperialism of producers."

SOUTH AFRICA, Union of, member of the British Commonwealth, 472,000 sq. m., population 9,600,000, of whom 2,000,000 are Europeans, the rest Natives. Of the Europeans 58% are Boers who speak Afrikaans, a variant of Dutch, the rest are English-speakers. Cape Town is the seat of legislature, Pretoria that of administration. After the South African War of 1899-1902 the British Government strove to re-establish self-government in the conquered Boer republics and to organise a Federation in South Africa. The result was the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 out of the Cape Province, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The four Provinces continue as self-governing units of the Federation. Boer nationalism and the question of South Africa's relationship to the British Commonwealth have formed the principal political problems of the Union. Generals Botha and > Smuts, who had fought the British in the Boer War, steered the course of development of the Union within the British Commonwealth after 1910, while the nationalists, under > Hertzog, strove for an independent republic. In the Great War of 1914-1918 the Union conducted the colonial campaign in Africa but sent no troops to Europe, except for a token brigade. Local uprisings of irreconcilable Boers were easily put down. General Smuts was a very active member of the Imperial War Cabinet. After the war Hertzog's nationalist movement gathered momentum, rising from 5 pre-war representatives in Parliament to 63 in 1924. Through an alliance with the Labour Party Hertzog gained a majority and became Prime Minister. While not adopting any republican policies, the Hertzog administration tried to detach the Union's foreign policy from Britain's to some extent. In 1934, Hertzog's Party was merged with Smuts' moderate South African Party on a compromise basis, the compact of fusion emphasising membership in the British Commonwealth as well as independent status. In the same year, constitutional amendments were enacted in partial change of the British Parliament's South Africa Act of 1909 (still forming the Constitution), defining the Union's status as one of sovereign independence, stipulating that the King shall act in South African affairs only on the advice of his South African Ministers, and creating a South African Great Seal in the custody of the South African Prime Minister. Legislation has been proposed to re-enact the South Africa Act as a Union Act on the strength of the > Westminster Statute.

The Union of South Africa produces, roughly speaking, 40% of the world's gold, and is also the greatest diamond producer. Other mineral products include coal, copper, platinum and asbestos. Mining and agriculture are the chief industries. Agricultural production includes wheat, maize, fruit, cattle and sheep. General industrialisation is in progress.

Government is parliamentary. The Senate is elected for 10 years (8 of its members being appointed). The 150 members of the House of Assembly are elected for 5 years. The Crown is represented through the Governor-General (Sir Patrick Duncan at present). English and Afrikaans are official lan-

guages. Natives have no vote, except for those in the Cape Province, who elect three representatives. The Union defence force numbers about 5,000 in peace time, but there are 111,000 members of Rifle Associations as a sort of reserve. Naval defence is undertaken by Britain under a special agreement, and the naval base of Simonstown on the Cape coast is placed at the disposal of, and maintained by, the Royal Navy.

In the House of Assembly 109 seats were held by the United South African National Party of > Smuts and > Hertzog. When the present war broke out, Hertzog, as Prime Minister, advocated neutrality but his motion was defeated in Parliament by a vote of 80 : 67 in favour of Smuts' motion that South Africa should co-operate with Britain in the war, without sending troops overseas. Hertzog resigned, Smuts formed a coalition Cabinet, and the Union declared war on Germany on September 6, 1939. Early in 1940 Hertzog concluded an agreement with Dr. > Malan's radical, Republican Nationalist Party (28 seats, all Afrikander) in January 1940, providing for a common republican platform and secession from the Empire. Hertzog and Malan are said to represent about 50 per cent. of the Afrikanders (Boers) in the Union, while the remaining 50 per cent. and all the English-speakers support Gen. Smuts. The staunchly pro-British Dominion Party of Colonel Stallard, now in coalition with General Smuts, holds 8 seats. It left the South African Party when the constitutional amendments of 1934 were introduced. A moderate Labour Party holds 3 seats.

The Native Question looms in the background of South African politics. The Boers are traditionally anti-Native and refuse to recognise the human equality of the coloured man. Anglo-South Africans favour gradual education and development of the Natives. As the latter by far outnumber the Europeans, the question is of high importance. There are Union aspirations to adjacent British colonies, such as Bechuanaland, Basutoland and the two Rhodesias. (See also > South-West Africa.)

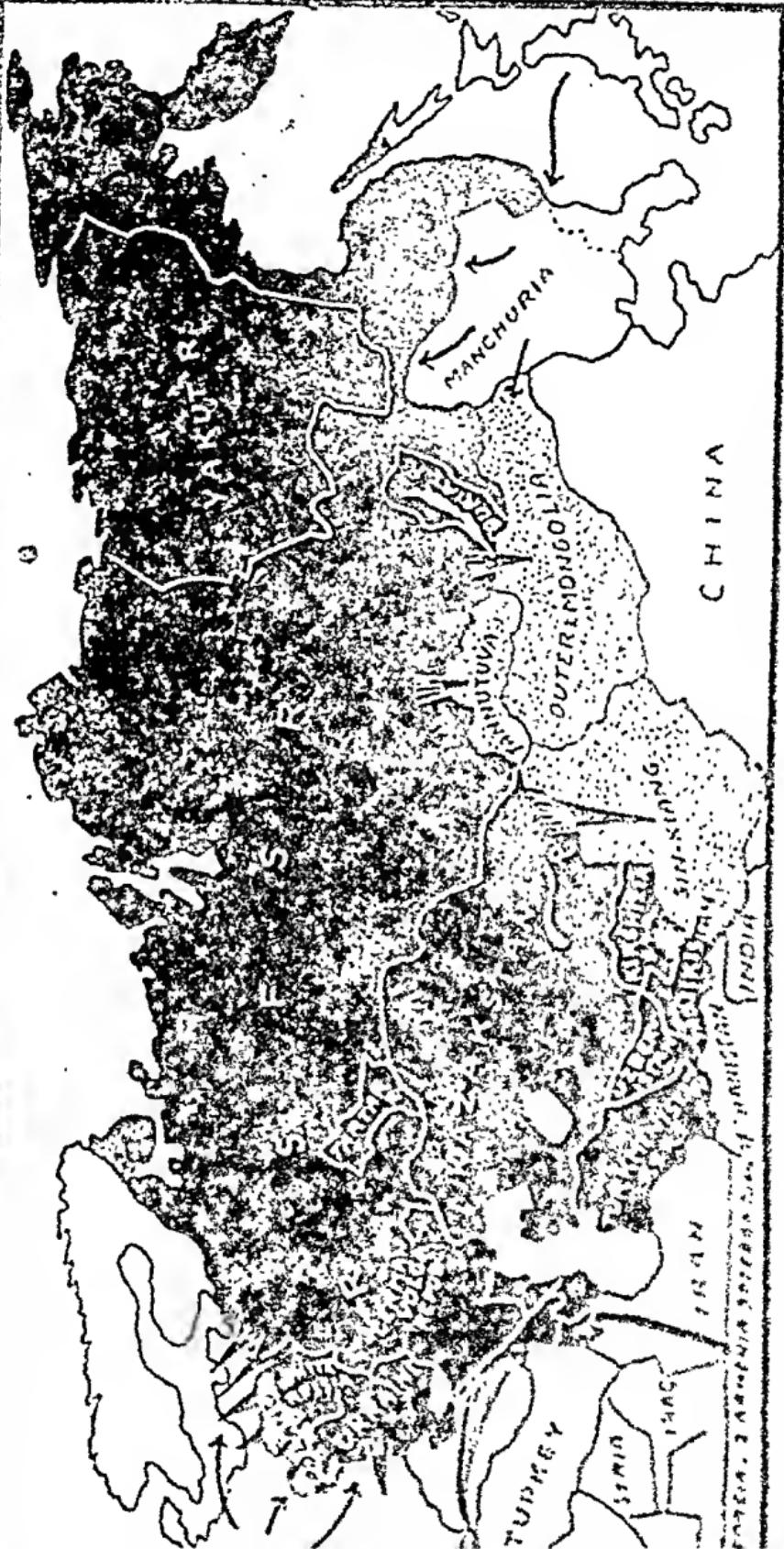
of higher Soviets, unity of local and State authorities. It was claimed that Soviets ensured direct participation of broad masses in the administration.

SOVIET UNION, (U.S.S.R.) short for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, 8,144,000 sq. m., population 180,000,000.

After the Communist revolution in November 1917 the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was organised on the territory of Russia. In 1923 it was united with the Ukrainian and other national Soviet Republics which had been set up in the border territories of Russia into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the R.S.F.S.R. or Soviet Russia proper has formed only a constituent republic of the Union since, though the largest and most important one. The history of the Soviet Union is linked up with the history of > Communism and the careers of > Lenin and > Stalin. The 1923 Constitution of the Union was based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Basic organs of administration were the Soviets or Councils, exercising simultaneously the functions of municipalities and local State authorities. The lower Soviets chose the higher Soviets (district, regional and State Soviets) by means of indirect election. The supreme organ was the All-Russian Soviet Congress, elected by the lower Soviets on the basis of one member for each 25,000 workers and one for each 125,000 peasants. Thus the peasant franchise was only one-fifth of the workers'. The Congress elected a Central Executive Committee which sat permanently and made laws during the interval between the sessions of the Congress. The CEC chose the Government, called Council of the People's Commissars. There were seven Federal Republics with autonomous administrations along similar lines.

In 1936 the Constitution was amended. The Soviet system was abandoned though the name was retained; the method of indirect election was dropped and the Soviet Congress cancelled. All Soviets of whatever degree are now elected directly by the people and no longer do the lower Soviets control the higher ones. The supreme legislative organ is the Supreme Council of the Union, taking the place of Parliament in other countries. It is elected by all the "working people", workers and peasants having equal voting-right now and only small remainders of the former possessing classes being excluded from the franchise. The Supreme Council consists of two Houses: The Council of the Union (one member for each 300,000 inhabitants) and the Council of Nationalities (25 members for each constituent republic and fixed quotas of members for autonomous national territories). The Supreme Council elects a presidency with a chairman and 11 members, one for each republic, the chairman (M. I. Kalinin at present) occupying a position corresponding to that of President of the Republic. The Supreme Council also elects the Council of the People's Commissars which is responsible to the Supreme Council. President of the Council of the People's Commissars (Prime Minister) is V. M. Molotoff at present. There are now 11 Federal Republics with similar constitutions and governments, and they are sub-divided into numerous autonomous

THE SOVIET UNION



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national republics, autonomous territories and areas, with a view to securing home rule for each of the 180 peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. The eleven principal republics and their populations (in millions) are: Russia (110), the Ukraine (40), White Russia (8), Armenia (1), Georgia (3), Azerbaijan (3), Uzbekistan (5), Kazakhstan (7), Turkmenistan (1), Tajikistan (1), Kirghizia (1). Recent additions to the Ukraine and White Russia at the expense of Poland are here included though they have not been internationally recognised so far. The eleven principal languages of the constituent republics are equally official languages of the Union. In practice Russian occupies a dominant position. Among the sub-republics of the Russian constituent republic there is a Volga-German republic of 600,000 inhabitants. The political hegemony of the Russians (who number 85 millions) is outspoken and the constitutional right of the constituent republics to secede from the Union is of a theoretical nature.

The Communist Party is the only authorised political organisation, and only candidates approved by it are allowed to stand in elections. The General Secretary of the party, > Stalin, is virtually dictator of the Soviet Union. An extensive secret police, the > G.P.U., supports the Soviet Government. Great attention has been given to the training and equipment of the > Red Army.

The economic system of the Soviet Union is socialistic. Industries and means of communication are State property, and are run according to plans made up by a Planning Commission (Gosplan) and approved by the Supreme Soviet. Agriculture is carried on in the form of collective farms (Kolkhoz), but the peasants may have a house, one or two acres of land and one or two cows of their own besides their share in the common land and cattle: (> Five-Year Plans.)

With respect to Soviet Russia's relations with the principal other nations there have been three distinct periods: (1) The period of complete isolation 1917-1922. (2) Co-operation with Germany (since the treaty of > Rapallo) 1922-1933. During this time Soviet Russia lived in constant fear of a war of intervention, regarding Britain as the inspirer, and France as the instrument of such intervention. (3) Co-operation with the Democracies 1934-1939. With Hitler's advent to power the danger of a German attack on Russia became serious in view of Hitler's vehement Anti-Bolshevism. Soviet Russia joined the League of Nations, concluded cautiously-framed alliances with France and Czechoslovakia. Tension with Japan grew as Japan expanded in China and associated herself with Germany by the > Anti-Comintern Pact. Russia supported China against Japan. (4) Co-operation with Nazi-Germany (1939-?) beginning with the non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939, leading to joint partition of Poland and diplomatic support of Germany against the Allies in the present war. Germany in return allowed Russia a free hand in the Baltic countries. As a result Russia has obtained the Ukrainian and White Russian parts of Poland, a virtual protectorate over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and strategically important

territories in Finland. Russian influence in the Balkans has suddenly been revived after an interval of more than 20 years. In other words Russia has reappeared in her traditional spheres of European politics. Even the classical Russian concern about the > Dardanelles has returned. Opposition to Japan, the securing of control over vast spheres in North China (> Outer Mongolia, > Sinkiang) and a great deal of influence in Persia (> Iran), temporarily also in > Afghanistan, and Soviet aggression against > Finland complete the impression of Soviet Russia walking along the paths of Tsarist foreign policy.

Regarding the relationship between Soviet Russia as a nation and World Communism there are three opinions: (1) Soviet Russia has given up international Communism for all practical purposes. (2) There has been only a temporary pause in the endeavour for world revolution, and Stalin will continue it on the next suitable occasion. (3) Stalin will not do so but he will be superseded by a more radical Government which will return to the policy of world revolution (the view of > Trotsky).

There has been some speculation to the effect that there is a latent Anglo-Russian antagonism as a basic factor of world politics, disguised for the time being as an ideological conflict between Communism and capitalism, but virtually a continuation of the Anglo-Russian antagonism working throughout the 19th century and connected with questions of the Near East, India and China. Attempts have been made to explain Russia's latest moves in the light of this antagonism. Other observers hold the view that Russia's recent moves in the Baltic and Black Sea regions have primarily anti-German implications despite temporary collaboration with Germany. The Russian explanation is that the Soviet is not out for conquest but merely wants "to slam all doors" against possible aggression.

SPAIN, 195,000 sq. m., population: Spain proper, 24,000,000; with African possessions, 28,000,000. Spain was a Kingdom until 1931, with a virtual dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera after 1925. In April 1931 the dictatorship was overthrown, a republic was proclaimed subsequently and King > Alfonso XIII left the country. The Conservatives under President Alcalá Zamora and the left-wingers under > Azaña struggled for the power in the following years until the leftists won the general election on February 16, 1936. The parties of the > Popular Front obtained 277 seats while the Right had 132 and the Centre 32. Azaña became President instead of Zamora on May 11, 1936, and formed a republican Cabinet without Socialists and Communists.

The Government initiated a land reform and other social reforms which aroused the opposition of conservative circles and vested interests, in particular the big land-owners. Conservatives were also opposed to the anti-clerical course taken by the Government. Right-wing opinion looked upon the Popular Front as the forerunner of Bolshevism. As a result General > Franco rose against the republican Government on July 18, 1936 with the support of almost the entire army.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR 1936-1939]

and part of the navy. The uprising was sponsored by Germany and Italy, who wished to check the rising Popular Front movement in Europe, and who hoped to bring Spain into the political system of the > Axis. The revolt developed into the > Spanish Civil War, ending with Franco's victory in March 1939 after nearly three years' fighting.

Spain has been under a military dictatorship since, headed by General Franco. The only authorised political organisation is the Spanish Falange, the head of which is likewise Franco. While quick to join the > Anti-Comintern Pact, the latter hesitated to conclude a definite alliance with Italy and Germany. When Hitler announced his pact with the Soviet in August 1939, Franco's Spain was deeply shocked, and decided to remain neutral in the present war.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR 1936-1939, started with the uprising of General > Franco in Spanish Morocco on July 18, 1936 (> Spain), practically all garrisons in Spain joining the insurrection on the next day. They seized the power in South and North-west Spain while the military uprising was put down by the Popular Front Government and the workers in Central, North and East Spain, including Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao. The Government organised militias and applied to the Popular Front Government in France for arms supplies. France refused and embarked on the policy of non-intervention instead. Germany and Italy, sponsoring Franco's action, went on, however, to supply the latter with war material, and his army drove the poorly armed militias quickly back upon the gates of Madrid. Meanwhile France had unofficially changed her policy, sent some material and allowed a number of foreign volunteers to pass to Spain for the purpose of forming an International Brigade. General Franco subsequently besieged Madrid for nearly 2½ years. In 1937 the scope of the civil war was substantially widened. Both sides raised large armies and behind the smoke-screen of non-intervention increasing quantities of war material came in from Germany and Italy to the nationalists, and from France and Russia to the republicans. Italy also sent 100,000 troops, while Germany supplied tanks, artillery and aircraft with trained personnel. The International Brigade on the republican side reached about 30,000 in the course of the war. Russia sent tank and air force detachments to the republicans. Generally speaking, Franco's friends were quicker and more generous in supplies than the well-wishers of the Government. Internal dissensions hampered the Government's warfare. Anarchists refused military discipline and subordination to the Central Government, Catalonians showed no readiness to fight outside their own territory. The Government of the left-wing Socialist > Caballero, which had also included four Anarchists, was replaced by the moderate > Negrin Government which strengthened the central power and seized control over Barcelona in street fights with the Anarchists. Yet Franco's systematic advance could only be delayed, not stopped. In 1937 he seized the Basque region with Bilbao, in 1938 his troops, starting from Teruel, reached the Mediterranean and separated

intra-party struggle had been the divergence of opinion between the Trotskyite faction advocating the immediate pursuance of world revolution and the Stalinite faction favouring "socialism in one country", meaning the development of Russia's resources along Socialist lines. The adherents of a "national" Communist policy under Stalin prevailed and the > Five-Year Plans were carried out under Stalin's guidance on the basis of orthodox socialism with exclusive State ownership in industries and radical collectivisation of agriculture. In 1936 and 1937 Stalin carried out a party purge, marked by the > Moscow trials and many executions of former leading Communists.

From 1934 to 1938 Communists throughout the world had exalted Stalin as the champion of Anti-Nazism and he had sought collaboration with the Western Powers against Hitler. As late as March 10, 1939, Stalin described Nazi Germany as an aggressive nation, Britain and France as non-aggressive, and proclaimed: "We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country." But on August 23, 1939, amidst negotiations on an alliance with Britain and France, Stalin concluded a non-aggression pact with Hitler, giving the latter a free hand in > Poland, and after a fortnight's war between Germany and Poland in September 1939 Stalin proceeded jointly with Hitler to the partition of Poland. Following this he secured virtual control of > Estonia, > Latvia and > Lithuania for Russia, and on November 30, 1939, he ordered the invasion of > Finland by Soviet troops.

Stalin's policy is absolutely realistic in spite of his Communist ideology. Trotsky has described him as the traitor of the revolution, while others continue to see in him the unswerving leader of world Communism. As a matter of fact Stalin's régime has been marked by a continuous rise of the Soviet as a Great Power, by economic and cultural development of Russia and by uncompromising Socialism at home, but by the absence of successes of Communism as an international movement. Stalin's role for Russia has been compared to that of Peter the Great, whom he personally reveres.

Stalin holds no Government office in the Soviet Union but exercises his power under the title of General Secretary of the Communist Party. His first wife, Georgian Nadyeshda Alliluyeva, died in 1934, and he married the sister of his close collaborator Kaganovitch afterwards. He has a son and a daughter from his first marriage. (> Soviet Union > Communism.)

STANDARD OIL group, large American oil combine. Originally a consolidated organisation, built up by the late John D. Rockefeller, it was dissolved in 1911 in deference to the American anti-trust laws, and the shares had to be distributed among the small shareholders. In some way or other, however, the group continued to keep together, and Rockefeller remained in control for all practical purposes. The organisation is a very loose one to-day, there being many Standard Oil companies without any external connection with each other, and competition frequently occurs between them. Yet traces of a common policy are recognisable. Most important

members of the Standard Oil family are the Standard Oil Co. of California, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and the Standard Oil Co. of New York, the latter being amalgamated with the Vacuum Oil Co. into the Socony-Vacuum group. The Standard Oil group controls vast producing interests throughout the world, primarily in the U.S.A., Rumania, Venezuela, other South American States, Iraq and Saudi Arabia; former large Mexican interests were nationalised in 1938. About one-quarter of the world's oil output is under Standard Oil control. Moreover, the group controls an immense system of oil-refining, oil-transporting and oil-marketing companies throughout the world.

STANLEY, Rt. Hon. Oliver, British War Secretary, born 1896, the son of Earl Derby, educated at Eton and Oxford, served in the last war as a major (M.C., *Croix de guerre*, despatches), was called to the bar in 1919, elected Conservative M.P. for Westmorland in 1924 which seat he has held since. War Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Home Office 1931-1933, Minister of Transport 1933-1934, of Labour 1934-1935, President of the Board of Education 1935-1937, of the Board of Trade, 1937-1939; became Secretary of State for War in January 1940 in succession to G. Hore-Belisha.

STEEL, most important producing countries in 1938 (in million tons): U.S.A. 28.8, Germany 23, U.S.S.R. 18.2, Great Britain 10.6, France 6.1, Japan 6, Italy 2.4, Belgium 2.3. Of these countries, the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and France have a full iron ore supply of their own; the others must import ore, mostly from Sweden, France and Spain.

STRASSER, Dr. Otto, exiled German politician, leader of the anti-Hitler "Black Front". Dr. Strasser was a follower of Hitler until 1930 and lead the pro-socialist wing in the Nazi Party together with his brother Gregor who was murdered on June 30, 1934. In 1930 he left the Nazis on account of Hitler's pro-capitalist attitude, founded the "Revolutionary National-Socialist Party" which later became the "Black Front". The programme was a combination of Nazism and Socialism. Dr. Strasser was exiled after Hitler's advent to power in 1933, lived in Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, opposing Hitler. His "Black Front" (the badge of which is a sword and a hammer) has been carrying on underground opposition against the Nazi régime in Germany. It claims to have a considerable following among disappointed ex-Nazis and young army officers. The platform is nationalist but anti-Hitler. It provides for "nationalised economy", anti-Marxist as well as anti-capitalist. Factories are to be given to their owners as "industrial heirs" from the State. It favours European collaboration, rejects oppression of small peoples.

STRESA FRONT, the grouping of the Powers at the Stresa Conference in 1934, called on the initiative of Mussolini to discuss problems of the Danube Basin. Italy took sides with the Western Powers against Germany at this conference.

SUCCESSION STATES, the States set up after the last war on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, e.g. obtaining a share in this territory. They included Austria,

SUDETEN-GERMANS]

Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia; also Italy was reckoned as a Succession State on account of her share in the Tyrol and the ex-Austrian Adriatic coast.

SUDETEN-GERMANS, > Czechoslovakia.

SUEZ CANAL, the canal connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas. The Canal is owned by a French company, the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez* in Paris. A controlling interest (295,000 out of 652,000 shares, being the majority for all practical purposes) is held by the British Government. The Board of Directors consists of French and British representatives. Italy claims seats on the Board on the ground of increased Italian traffic through the canal since the conquest of Abyssinia. The Canal Company levies fees from all ships passing through the canal. The canal is regarded as a lifeline of the British Commonwealth, and Great Britain has undertaken its defence. The canal lies on Egyptian territory but is guarded by British garrisons. The charter of the Canal Company will expire in 1967, when the canal will automatically become the property of the Egyptian State.

SUN YAT-SEN, Dr., Chinese nationalist and progressive leader, born November 12, 1866, at Tsui Heng, son of a Christian smallholder, was educated at American and British schools at Honolulu and Hongkong. Became a doctor, practised at Macao and Canton, founded a Chinese republican organisation in 1895, was forced to flee abroad, organised the > *Kuo Min Tang*, the revolutionary Chinese nationalist party, in 1905 with the aid of the Chinese communities in America and other foreign countries. Played a great part in the Chinese revolution of 1911, opposed reactionary Yuan Shi-Kai (> China), was again exiled after the abortive "second revolution" of 1912, in which he had been proclaimed President of the Republic at Nanking. In 1917 he came back to take command of the South Chinese revolutionaries, set up a South Chinese Government at Nanking, and was proclaimed President in 1921. Reorganised the *Kuo Min Tang* with the help of the Soviet Russian adviser, Borodin, sympathised with Communists. Died March 12, 1925, at Pekin, was buried at Nanking. His mausoleum there was a national shrine of China before the Japanese occupation. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen gave the Chinese nationalist movement its modern programme and ideology; his famous Three Principles, i.e., Nationalism, Democracy, People's Livelihood, have formed the platform of the *Kuo Min Tang* to the present day.

SWASTIKA, a hooked cross, the symbol of German National-Socialism. The swastika was worn by the soldiers of the German Baltic Corps on their helmets when they returned in 1919 from the fight against the Bolsheviks in Finland and the Baltic States. The swastika was (and is still) the State badge of Finland; hence it had come into the use of the soldiers. The ex-Baltic soldiers joined nationalist volunteer corps in post-war Germany which were hostile to the republican Government, continuing to use the swastika as their badge. Thus it became a symbol of extreme nationalism and eventually the National-Socialists adopted it. The Nazi claim that the swastika

is an ancient Teutonic or Nordic device is unfounded. The swastika, virtually a symbol of the sun, occurs in the relics of many earlier civilisations. It has been found in Mongolia, in North and South America and in the Orient, even in Palestine.

SWEDEN, Kingdom of, 173,000 sq. m., population 6,300,000, capital Stockholm, ruler King Gustav V, born 1858, ascended throne in 1907. Traditionally neutral, politically collaborating with the other Nordic countries (Norway, Denmark and Finland), Sweden has international importance because of her rich iron ore deposits. Swedish ores contain 50 to 60% iron and are much in demand abroad. Sweden has been the principal source of iron ore imports for both Germany and Britain, supplies being particularly vital for Germany, which cannot obtain ore from any other source, and the allotment of supplies in the present war forms a delicate problem. Sympathies for the German people are traditionally strong, but Nazism is unpopular in strictly democratic Sweden. The moderate Social-Democrats hold 115 out of 230 seats in the Lower Chamber and, taking account of 5 Communists and 3 dissident Communists, there is a majority in favour of Socialism. While no measure of direct nationalisation has been taken and the economic system is basically one of liberal capitalism, Socialist influence has been very strong in industrial relations with the result that the Swedish worker has the highest standard of living in Europe. Other Socialist features are State ownership of iron-ore mines, highly developed co-operativism and Government influence on banks. Socialists co-operate well with the popular and democratic monarchy. From 1936 to 1939, the Government was made up of Social-Democrats (leader and Premier Per Albin Hansson) and the moderately conservative Agrarian Party (36 seats, leader A. Pehrson). In December 1939 the Government was widened on an all-party basis under pressure of the threat to Sweden implied in the Russian attack on Finland. The Conservative Party (41 seats, leader Gösta Bagge) and the Liberal People's Party (27 seats, leader G. Andersson) are now included. Hansson remains Premier. A Swedish Nazi party fed by Berlin has not gained any importance. The political life of Sweden is quiet and well-balanced. Principal trade partners are Britain and Germany.

44,000 people in the Canton of Graubuenden (Grisons), was declared fourth official language so as to emphasise the basic idea of the Swiss commonwealth, absolute equality of all racial groups regardless of their numerical strength. The harmonious relationship between the various races of Switzerland which knows no minority problems has often been praised as a model for other racially mixed States as well as for a super-national organisation of Europe as a whole. Switzerland is, generally speaking, a model State. The Swiss Constitution is the most democratic in the world, providing for the highest degree of regional autonomy through the sub-division of the country into 22 Cantons (plus 2 half-Cantons), each with their own Parliaments and Governments, and for the ample use of direct democracy through frequent plebiscites on major and minor questions. The Swiss State is not based on community of race or language but on the ideas of civic liberty, racial sociability and peace policy, basically the ideas of liberalism. Switzerland could not give up those ideas without losing her *raison d'être*. This has made her immune to Nazi propaganda suggesting the establishment of a totalitarian régime and the incorporation of the German-speaking portion of Switzerland in Greater Germany so as to end "century-old Swiss separatism". The French Cantons would have gone to France, the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino to Italy, in this hypothetic case. Integrity and neutrality of Switzerland have been internationally guaranteed since 1815. The country is of high strategic importance as the guardian of the Alpine passes and because of its situation on the flank of France. Her neutrality has made Switzerland the refuge of large foreign deposits and Swiss gold reserves total 2 milliards of francs. Swiss foreign investments are not much smaller. Switzerland is easily defensible thanks to her mountainous structure, but there is a gap at Basle which has been strongly fortified. The Swiss army, organised as a militia, numbers 700,000 trained reserves with good equipment and world-known marksmanship.

The Swiss Federal Assembly consists of two houses: the National Council, elected by the people on the basis of proportional representation, and the Council of States, chosen by the Cantons (2 members for each Canton, regardless of its population). The Federal Assembly elects the Federal Council (the Government) and the latter's President (the Prime Minister) who acts also as head of the State, there being no President of the Republic. He is called "Federal President"; his term of office is one year and care is taken for due alternation of the three principal races in the presidency.

Strongest Party in Switzerland is the Social-Democratic one, member of the Second International, holding 50 out of the 187 seats in the National Council. Then come the Radical-Democratic Party (48 seats), a progressive middle-class Party with centralist leanings, the Catholic Conservative Party (42 seats) with anti-centralist views, and the Farmers', Workers' and Middle-Class Party (21 seats), an Agrarian Party seceded from the Radical-Democrats. These three parties form the Government coalition at present. Nazi groups appearing

SYRIA]

State. Syndicalism has, however, also influenced the Fascist conception of a > corporate State.

SYRIA, an area on the eastern Mediterranean, north of Palestine, 58,000 sq. m., population 3,400,000, mostly Arabic-speaking. Formerly Turkish, Syria was placed under French administration after the World War of 1914-1918. Emir Faisal, son of King Hussein of Hedjaz, supporter of the Allied cause in the war, was proclaimed King of Syria by a Syrian congress in 1920 but this action failed to receive the sanction of the Allied Powers and Faisal had to leave Syria, becoming King of > Iraq instead. Syria was allotted to France under a League Mandate and after repeated reorganisation divided into four States: Syria proper, 49,000 sq. m., 2,000,000 inhabitants, capital Damascus; The Lebanon, 3,800 sq. m., 700,000 inhabitants, capital Beirut (also seat of the French Mandate Administration); Latakia, 2,800 sq. m., 350,000 inhabitants, belonging to the Alaouite people; and the Jebel Druse, 2,400 sq. m., 50,000 inhabitants of a warlike Moslem sect.

There are also about 300,000 nomad Bedouins. The four Syrian States have no political connection with each other, a former Syrian Federation having been dissolved in 1924. The area of > Alexandretta was ceded to Turkey in 1938.

Arab nationalism has been very outspoken in Syria, which is, by the way, its cradle (> Arabs). The French administration had to meet continuous disorders from 1920 till 1932. The Syrians strive for independence with Pan-Arabic intentions in the background. By treaties concluded in November and December 1936 respectively France has granted independence to Syria and The Lebanon, to take effect after three years. In return the two Syrian States had to conclude treaties of alliance and commerce with France, providing for the maintenance of French garrisons in Syria and The Lebanon. The treaties have not yet been ratified by the French Parliament and the League, and the war is likely to postpone the settlement. Most nationalist is Syria proper, while The Lebanon, with a prevailingly Christian population, has greater sympathies for France, using the French tricolour with a cedar as its national flag. There is a current in The Lebanon favouring collaboration with Palestine and the Zionists (the "Phoenician solution") instead of Pan-Arabism. See map of Turkey and the Near East.

THIRD REICH]

purposes. The country is shut to strangers, and little is known about it. It forms a sort of buffer State to the north-east of India; hence developments in Thibet are a matter of interest to Britain.

THIRD REICH, a term used to denote the Nazi régime in Germany. The word springs from the idea that the medieval German Empire was the "First Empire", the Hohenzollern Empire (1871-1918) was the "Second Empire" and the Nazi State is the third. The German Republic (1919-1933) is referred to as the "Intermediate Empire". The term "Third Empire" was coined by Moeller van den Bruck, a nationalist German writer, in his book *Das Dritte Reich* in 1924.

THYSSEN, Fritz, German steel industrialist, born 1873, at Mülheim (Ruhr), son of August Thyssen, one of the founders of German steel industry. His father left to him a 26% interest in the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*, the German steel trust, and he was its chairman after 1926. Fritz Thyssen had always been a nationalist; during the French occupation of the Ruhr area he was court-martialled and imprisoned. He was one of the first German industrialists to support and finance Hitler. After the Nazis' advent to power in 1933, Thyssen was rewarded by the reorganisation of his virtually bankrupt company at the expense of the Reich, and by a number of honorary posts, including membership in the Prussian Council of State. Recently Thyssen became more critical of Hitler's policies, and when the pact with Soviet Russia was concluded in August 1939, Thyssen fled to Switzerland. His property in Germany was confiscated.

TITULESCU, Nicolae, Rumanian statesman, born 1883, obtained a professorship at the Law College of Jassy University at the early age of 23. After the last war he joined > Mănu's Peasant Party. Was Minister of Finance several times, then Rumanian Minister in London, and Foreign Minister 1933-1937. Regarded as an advocate of a Western orientation of Rumania. Lives in Paris.

TOGO, 33,700 sq. m., population 700,000, former German colony in West Africa, now divided between Great Britain and France under a League Mandate. France holds two-thirds of the colony, and her portion is the more developed one. Cocoa, bananas, palm oil, timber are the principal products. Together with the > Cameroons, Togo is most valuable among the former German colonies and of strategic importance because of its geographical position.

TORIES, old name for the British Conservatives, dropped in 1828. Staunch Conservatives are still sometimes referred to as Tories.

TOTALITARIAN, a term denoting the single-party, dictatorial system of Government, based on the "totality of the State" as opposed to the liberal conception of the State which allots to the State only certain portions of life while reserving others (and as many as possible) to the free decision of the individual. The "total State" extends the sphere of State influence over the whole of life, private as well as public, and exacts full submission of the individual to the demands of the State. National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy are types of totalitarian States.

TRADE DISPUTES AND TRADE UNIONS ACT, a British law enacted in 1927 after the General Strike. It declares general and sympathetic strikes unlawful, restricts picketing

and makes the law courts the arbiters of legality or illegality of strike activities. The "contracting-in clause" stipulates that only those trade unionists may contribute to the political fund of the unions (that is to the fund of the Labour Party) who declare in writing their willingness to be levied for that purpose.

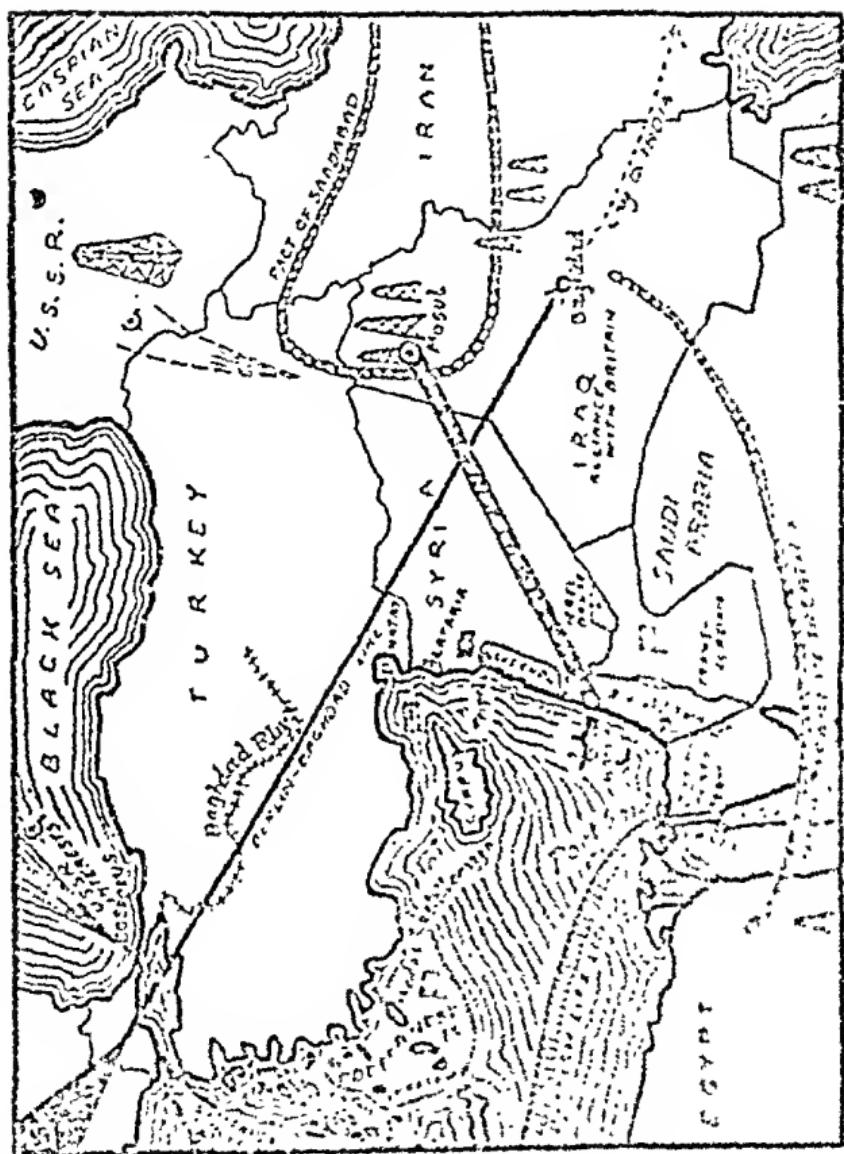
TRADE UNIONS, associations of workers and other employees for common representation of their interests towards the employers. Trade unions strive to secure better wages, good working conditions, shorter working hours and other advantages for their members. Their aim is a collective agreement which often applies to non-members too. If negotiations fail, trade unions use the instrument of the > strike. Trade unions were often suppressed and persecuted in the first half of the 19th century, but achieved general recognition in Europe in its second half. In the U.S.A. (> American Federation of Labour, > CIO) trade unionism was legally recognised only by the > New Deal legislation of 1934. British trade unionism started in the 'thirties of the last century in connection with Robert Owen's movement (chartism). The unions formed the Trades Union Congress in the 'sixties, and the Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1874 removed the last restrictions. The Trades Union Congress is the common organisation of British trade unions. It is a loose association with little defined jurisdiction over the member unions. Membership of affiliated unions exceeds 5,000,000. On the average about one-half of the workers are organised, but unionism in key industries is generally higher. British trade unionism is the most highly organised movement of its kind in the world. The German trade unions numbered 5,000,000 members before Hitler, but were destroyed by Nazism in May 1933. French trade unions are united in the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (1,500,000 members). The trade unions are mostly connected with the moderate Socialist parties of their countries; the British trade unions are collective members of the > Labour Party. Trade unions of all democratic countries form the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam (membership 16,000,000). "Red" unions in Soviet Russia comprise 18,000,000 members or 90 per cent. of all employees; they are, for all practical purposes, subordinate to the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The Soviet theory is that the tasks of the unions in a socialist State are different from those in a capitalist country as the workers themselves are in control of industry. Primary tasks of Russian unions are the furthering of production, protection of workers, co-operation in national economic plans and cultural activities. The Amsterdam International has refused to accept the Russian unions as members on the ground that they are State-controlled. Nazi Germany permits no unions at all, and employers are compulsory members of the German Labour Front, a Nazi organisation comprising employers and employees as well (> Ley). In Italy only Fascist unions are permitted (membership 3,500,000). They are subordinate to the Fascist Party and the Government, and form "cattarturas" in contact with the employers' associations.

TRANSYLVANIA, the western province of Rumania acquired from Hungary after the last war. Area 23,000 sq. m., population, according to Rumanian statistics, 3,270,000 Rumanians, 1,480,000 Hungarians and 540,000 Germans (of whom 250,000 "Siebenbuergen Saxons", the rest Suabians). Object of Hungarian aspirations.

TROTSKY, Leo Davidovitch, leading Russian revolutionary, born 1877 at Bialystok, son of a Jewish farmer, studied at Kieff University, joined the revolutionary movement, adopted the alias of Trotsky, his actual name being Bronstein. Belonged initially to the Mensheviks, the moderate faction of the Russian Socialists, but developed his own radical theories later, in particular that of "permanent revolution". Participated in the abortive Russian revolution of 1905, lived in exile afterwards, being in constant touch and discussion with > Lenin. Was interned in Canada in the last war in 1916, but was allowed to return to Russia after the March revolution of 1917. Joined Lenin and the Bolsheviks, was the driving power and chief organiser of the October revolution side by side with Lenin. Organised and commanded the Petersburg uprising on November 7, 1917, became War Commissar, created the Red Army and led it through the civil war. He came soon into conflict with > Stalin, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, and after Lenin's death in 1924 Stalin ousted Trotsky from the leadership. Trotsky advocated continuation of the policy of world revolution while Stalin stood for "socialism in one country", meaning economic development of Russia. Trotsky was forced to resign as War Commissar in 1925, was exiled to the Caucasus, called back later; but when in 1927 street demonstrations occurred in favour of Trotsky, he was exiled to Turkey. Lived on the island of Prinkipo, near Constantinople, in the following years, criticising Stalin's policies. Went to France in 1934, proceeded to Norway where he lived till 1936. The Russian Government pressed Norway to expel Trotsky, and finally he went to Mexico, the only country which was ready to receive him. Since 1936, he has lived in the neighbourhood of Mexico City. He has incessantly denounced Stalin as a traitor to Communism and his followers have tried to form the nucleus of a "Fourth International", which includes the "Socialist Workers' Party of America" and the "Revolutionary Workers' League" in England. Stalin retorted with the anti-Trotskyite purge of 1936 and 1937. Trotsky was the virtual defendant in the > Moscow trials in which he was indicted for co-operation with Hitler against Stalin. He emphatically protested against this statement which has never been proved. In 1938 Trotsky published a book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, resuming his theories as follows:

The policy of socialism in one country has brought about the rise of a Soviet bureaucracy with a primarily national outlook instead of the Leninist generation of international revolutionaries. The head of this bureaucracy is Stalin. Its caste interests drive it towards the abandonment of basic Communist principles. But in the long run the rule of the conservative Stalinite bureaucracy will become incompatible with the needs

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST



DIRECTION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE POWERS

ENEMIES

T.U.C.]

of Russia as a socialist State and those of the international proletariat. A new revolution, possibly starting in the west, will end Stalinism and restore true Communism.

T.U.C., initials of the Trades Union Congress. (> Trade Unions.)

TUNIS, French protectorate in North Africa, also known as Tunisia (in Arabic Afrikiya), 48,000 sq. m., population 2,600,000, of whom 108,000 French, 94,000 Italian and 7,000 Maltese. Italian statistics claim that there are 115,000 Italians and only 90,000 French. There are 2,390,000 Arab-speaking natives. The country is nominally a principality under a Bey (at present Sidi Ahmed, born 1862) but actual power is in the hands of the French Resident-General. Eight out of the eleven members of the Government are French. The Resident-General is responsible to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. There are permanent French garrisons. Tunisia is a fertile country with considerable mineral wealth, in particular large phosphate mines (Gafsa). The ruins of Carthage stand near Tunis.

Italy claims Tunisia on the ground of the Italian proportion of the population. Italian colonisation began about the middle of the 19th century, and it is interesting to note that the first Italian settlers were prevailingly Jews from Sicily and Southern Italy. When Italy was about to take possession of Tunisia France forestalled this in 1881 by establishing her own protectorate. It was Bismarck who encouraged French action in Tunisia with a view to diverting French attention from Alsace-Lorraine and to driving a wedge between Italy and France. Italians in Tunisia are Italian citizens, i.e. foreigners, enjoy far-reaching cultural autonomy, have Italian schools and fascio organisations. Mussolini's anti-Semitic policy since 1938 has alienated from Italy the considerable Jewish section of the Italian community.

Among the Arabs, there is a strong nationalist and also a pan-Arabic tendency. There are three Arab parties, the Old and the New Destour, the latter being more radical, and the still more radical National Reform Party of Habib Bourguiba. Serious riots occurred in 1937 and 1938.

TURKEY, 300,000 sq. m., population 16,500,000, capital Ankara.

After the collapse of the old Ottoman Empire and the loss of all territories inhabited by peoples other than Turks, the Turkish Republic was established by Kemal > Atatürk in 1922 on nationalist and progressive lines. Atatürk enforced westernisation of the country through a series of reforms. Confining the new State to the area actually inhabited by Turks, he expelled the Greek minority from Asia Minor and repatriated Turks from Greece and other Balkan countries instead. In 1934 an economic Five-Year Plan was inaugurated, providing for the establishment of 15 large State factories, Soviet Russia supplying machinery. The economic system is *étatism*, the State reserving the right to prescribe the general economic course and owning the most important industries but admitting also private enterprise, subject to State supervision and co-ordination. The political system is one of progressive dictatorship. The People's Party, continuing Kemal Atatürk's programme of nationalism and modernism, is the only authorised political

UKRAINE, formerly known as South Russia, a vast territory inhabited by Slav people speaking a language different from but akin to Russian. Tsarist Russia held that the Ukrainians were a branch of the Russian people, called them "Little Russians" as against the "Great Russians" of the North and recognised their speech only as a dialect of Russian, forcing the Russian language on them in schools and official use. A nationalist Ukrainian movement made itself felt in the 19th century. After the Russian revolution of 1917 the German and Austrian forces occupied the Ukraine and set up a puppet republic under a "Hetman", ex-Tsarist General Skoropedski. When they had withdrawn after the armistice of November 1918 the Ukraine became the theatre of civil war until in 1920 the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was formed. It concluded a military and economic alliance with Soviet Russia and in 1923 both States, together with other Soviet Republics on the Russian borders, were united into the > Soviet Union. The Ukraine has been a constituent republic of the Union since, the second largest and most important after Russia proper. The area was 174,000 sq. m., the population 33,000,000 at the beginning of 1939. An autonomous Ukrainian Government at Kieff, the capital, administers the country and the Ukrainian language is largely used in schools, at offices and in court. There are, however, large Russian minorities remaining from the times of attempted Russification, particularly in the big towns. In spite of constitutional autonomy the Ukraine is virtually under the control of Moscow and there is a certain amount of clandestine Ukrainian nationalism dissatisfied with this position. It has been Hitler's idea to use this current for the separation of the Ukraine from Russia and for bringing her under German control. The Ukraine is one of Europe's granaries (annual grain crop 16 million tons) and one of the Soviet's principal industrial regions. After the Soviet-Polish war of 1920 the "Curzon Line" proposed by Britain as frontier between the Soviet and Poland, a line largely following the ethnical border between Ukrainians and Poles, was rejected by Poland, which kept Ukrainian territory with 6,000,000 Ukrainian inhabitants. The Soviet Union never gave up its claim to this area and used the opportunity of the German-Polish war in September 1939 to occupy the area in question. This checked Hitler's plans of using the Polish Ukraine as a basis for stirring up separatism in the Soviet Ukraine. The latter was augmented by this action to an area of approximately 200,000 sq. m., with more than 40 million inhabitants, among whom is a substantial Polish minority. The total number of Ukrainians proper is about 36 millions. There are still two Ukrainian minorities outside the Soviet Union: about 600,000 in Subcarpathian Russia or Ruthenia, a former Czech and now Hungarian province; and the same number in the Rumanian provinces of > Bessarabia and Bukovina.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, continental area 3,026,789

sq. m., area including outlying possessions 3,738,395 sq. m., population (continental U.S.) 130,000,000. There are 48 States and 2 Territories in the Union; the capital, Washington, lies in the federal District of Columbia. The American Constitution is of a federal nature; a substantial part of the administration is exercised by the States. There has been, however, a trend toward the strengthening of the central power in recent times. The federal legislative power is vested in Congress, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives (the Lower House) has 435 members elected by the people for two years. The Senate (the Upper House) has 96 members elected by the people on the basis of two members for each State for a six-year term, one-third being renewed every two years. The Vice-President of the U.S. is also President of the Senate. Bills may originate in either House, with the exception of bills for raising revenue, which may originate in the House of Representatives only. All Bills must pass both Houses. The executive power is vested in the President of the United States. He is elected for a four-year term through indirect election by the people, the voters choosing electors who in their turn elect the President. The President has a right of veto with regard to Bills passed by Congress, but the veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of Congress. The President's powers are great; he is not mainly a representative figure as e.g., in France, but an actual ruler. The American Constitution is virtually based on the idea of a balance of power between President and Congress. The President is his own Prime Minister; he nominates the Cabinet Ministers, who are responsible only to him. So the U.S. has a presidential, not a parliamentary Government. The President may recommend to the consideration of Congress any measures he judges necessary. He may make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, which occupies a superior position in the conduct of foreign affairs. A declaration of war requires a vote of Congress. Presidents are indefinitely re-eligible in theory, but so far no President has been elected for more than two terms. A feature of the U.S. constitution is the strong position of the judiciary. If the Supreme Court declares a law unconstitutional, the law must go. Virtually the judiciary has been a third branch of Government besides Congress and President owing to these powers. It has often decided the fate of legislation approved by the other two constitutional factors. Generally the Supreme Court's influence has been exercised in a conservative sense.

also 115,000 Army Reserves, and taking account of time expired National Guards still fit for service (their normal term is three years), the U.S. has about 1,000,000 trained soldiers. In the World War the U.S. registered 24,000,000 men under the Military Service Act of 1917, and 4,057,000 Americans (of whom 2,783,000 drafted) were under arms at the end of the war.

The American Navy is the second strongest in the world. Under the Treaty of Washington (1921) and subsequent agreements the relation of the British and American navies is to be 1:1, but in point of fact the U.S. has not made full use of this provision in the last few years and the American Navy is slightly behind the British in tonnage. At present it comprises 15 battleships, 17 heavy and 16 light cruisers, 5 aircraft carriers, 206 destroyers and 89 submarines.

Immigration to the U.S. is limited to an annual quota of 153,900. The distribution of the quota favours immigrants from Britain, Ireland, Germany and the North European countries while southern and eastern countries have only small quotas. Natives of other American countries may immigrate freely.

American politics are based on the two-party system. The two major parties, the > Democrats and the > Republicans, have alternated in government for 80 years, the periods of Republican rule so far exceeding those of Democratic. Out of 435 Representatives in the present house, 261 are Democrats and 169 Republicans (the last election was held on November 8, 1938), while the Senate comprises 69 Democrats and 23 Republicans. There are a few minor parties without significance, such as La Follette's Progressive Party, a local Wisconsin offsplit of the Republican Party (2 Representatives, 1 Senator), the Farmer-Labour Party (1 Representative, 2 Senators) and the American Labour Party (1 Representative). There is only a weak Socialist movement in the U.S. (leader Norman Thomas) and a small Communist Party (leaders Foster, Browder). So long as the enormous area and economic resources of the U.S. virtually offered the chance of rising and wealth to everybody, and class lines were effaced by the frequent rise of individuals from the lowest to the highest social strata, class consciousness and socialistic outlook along European lines could not spread among American workers. Some observers hold that this era has come to an end and that the general trend of economic development is likely to pave the way for a stronger Socialist movement. They point to President Roosevelt's > New Deal policy and the rise of the > CIO movement in Labour as signs of the beginning of a change in this direction.

The Roosevelt reforms known as the New Deal and their sequels have formed the main part of American domestic policies since 1933. They have been backed by the Democrats (with a number of exceptions) and opposed by the Republicans (again with a number of exceptions). The preceding period of Republican rule under President > Hoover had been marked by the policy of "prosperity", leading American economy to a high point, by its end in the great slump of 1930 and the attempts to overcome the latter by orthodox means summed up as "deflation".

The "political machines" of the parties are important factors in American politics. If one of the two parties relieves the other in Government, a general upheaval in the administration is the sequel. Not only are ministers exchanged, as is done in similar cases in Europe, but practically the whole body of officials is dismissed and replaced by adherents of the victorious party. The "political bosses", the party agents in the various regions and districts, exert great influence on local administration. Owing to the federal character of the U.S. the programmes of the State organisations of each party often differ considerably from each other and from the national platform of the party.

The last war brought the rise of the U.S. to the position of the most powerful country in the world. Such indeed it is. With the exception of a few tropical products it produces all its requirements within its own boundaries, all kinds of food-stuffs and raw materials as well as manufactured goods. American standards of efficiency and organisation are the highest in the world. U.S. output of steel has been 50 million tons in 1938, of coal 490 million tons, of oil 166 million tons, exceeding by multiples any other country. In spite of its self-contained economic structure the U.S. rejects autarky and stands for the expansion of international trade. In 1929, the last peak year, it exported about 7 per cent. of its production. Principal trade partners are Britain, Canada, Japan, France and Germany.

American foreign policy is based on the > Monroe Doctrine and on the Washingtonian tradition of avoiding alliances with European Powers. Three reasons were put forward to explain America's entry into the last war on the Allied side. American loans made to the Allies, the democratic creed, and the solidarity of the English-speaking peoples. No doubt all these reasons jointly contributed to the decision. Anyway America was deeply disappointed after the war, refused ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and accession to the League, U.S. President Wilson's personal creation, and "isolationism" became once more powerful. To prevent repetition of the events of 1917, the neutrality legislation (> Neutrality Act) was adopted as tension in Europe began to increase. Yet again the question of "Isolation or some degree of support of the Allies?" has become the chief political issue of the U.S. since the outbreak of the present war. While the present ban on war loans, supported by recollections of non-payment of the last war's debts amounting to \$12,770 millions, is likely to foretell the rise of vested interests in favour of U.S. intervention this time, the ideological factors remain much the same as in the last war. America is almost unanimous in the rejection of Hitlerism as its natural affinities lie with the democracies. A large body of opinion holds that the U.S. could not tolerate a victory of Nazi Germany as this would mean the end of Democracy in Europe and soon affect America's democratic system too. The activities of the Nazi "German-American Bund" (led by Kuhn) and Father > Coughlin's fascist movement show that

totalitarianism does not stop at the door of the classical land of democracy. Moreover, an actual intrusion of victorious totalitarianism in the American hemisphere along imperialistic, as well ideological, lines is feared by this school. Isolationists reply that the U.S. is too strong to have to fear any attack. The Roosevelt Administration, in opposition to the isolationists, achieved the repeal of the Neutrality Act at the end of October 1939, and a new Act made arms supplies to the Allies possible.

Apart from America's attitude to the European war, her political, as well as her economic interests are directed towards South America and the Far East, in particular China. The U.S. has secured strategic positions in the Caribbean Sea and controls the Panama Canal Zone. It collaborates with the Latin-American republics in the > Pan-American Conference and endeavors to develop a policy of solidarity among the States of the Western Hemisphere. U.S. investments in South America are very large. Popular opinion in the South American States is critical of what it calls "Imperialismo Norte-Americano". In the Far East there is a traditional antagonism between the U.S. and Japan. While the once burning question of Japanese immigration to America is no longer of importance, Japanese aspirations to the > Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands remain latent, and the Japanese bid for domination of China is viewed with open antipathy by the U.S., which is unwilling to give up its share in the economic development of this sphere of 400 million potential customers. U.S. and British interests are in line against Japan here. There has been considerable American support for Chiang Kai-Shek's China.

The relationship of the U.S. with the British Commonwealth is of a special nature. The common language, many common customs and institutions, a common outlook on politics and life in general provide strong mutual ties. At one time (1927) there was a certain amount of tension between the U.S. and Britain, described by some observers as a reflection of Anglo-American rivalry over economic and financial world domination. But in the following years the tension eased and in 1929 the Hoover-MacDonald Declaration was able to state that war between Britain and the U.S. was impossible. Economic rivalry has been overshadowed since by other events and so far as it survives there seems to be a tendency to replace it in future by collaboration.

The deepening of Anglo-American relations found its expression in the Royal Visit to the U.S. in June 1939. An influential body of opinion in the U.S. holds the security of the U.S. to be linked up with the security of the British Commonwealth. (See also: > Anglo-Saxons. > Canada.)

ULSTER, often used as a short name for > Northern Ireland. Precisely speaking, the old Irish province of Ulster comprised nine counties, six of which now form Northern Ireland, while three belong to > Eire.

U.S.S.R., initials of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, full name of the > Soviet Union.

VENIZELOS]

Pope's sovereignty over the Vatican palaces, the Lateran palace in Rome and the Papal villa at Castel Gandolfo was confirmed, and the Vatican, thenceforward known as Vatican City, assumed external signs of sovereignty such as a coinage and postal system of its own. 1,000,000,000 lire were paid to the Vatican as an indemnity.

The Vatican is governed by the Pope. It maintains > nuncios in many capitals and Apostolic Delegates in others. As the centre of the Roman Catholic Church, the Vatican is a political power of great importance, although its weight is hard to estimate in any given case. The Vatican's policy is directed towards the promotion of Catholicism all over the world. Beyond the scope of ecclesiastical affairs, Catholic policies are rather conservative. Catholic parties usually belong to the moderate right but there are also Fascist currents (Spain and Slovakia), and, on the other hand, democratic and Labour currents (pre-Hitler Germany, Holland, Belgium, the Christian Trade Unions International) in the Catholic movement. The Vatican favours a Corporate State system but opposes socialism. It is especially strictly opposed to communism. In spite of repeated attempts to come to terms with German Nazism, the Vatican is basically anti-Nazi, not because of the Nazis' authoritarianism, but because of their anti-Christian, and particularly anti-Catholic, attitude, their State worship and racial materialism, which are incompatible with the Christian doctrine. The Vatican's relations with Italian Fascism have been good, apart from some friction over the question of the Fascist monopoly in education. The Vatican is also very influential in Spain and Ireland. Vatican policies are marked by a long-term outlook, patience and diplomatic skill.

The Vatican strove in vain to prevent the outbreak of the present war through offers of mediation between Germany and Poland. Since the occupation of Poland by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, the Vatican has shown great concern about this Catholic country, and repeatedly expressed its sympathies for Poland and the hope for its restoration. (> Pius XII.) In January and February 1940 the Vatican wireless broadcast reports on Nazi atrocities in Poland. This called forth German protests and the jamming of the Vatican transmitter by German stations. The Vatican seems also to have influenced Italy's dissociation from Germany in the present war.

VENIZELOS, Eleutherios, Greek statesman, 1863-1936. Born in Crete, fought Turks there, became leader of the Greek nationalist movement and the Liberal Party, premier in 1910, doubled the size of Greece in the two Balkan Wars 1912-1913, led Greece into the World War on the Allied side in 1916, came into conflict with the dynasty, stayed in the background during the disastrous Turkish campaign 1920-1922, favoured the establishment of the republic in 1923 and became its premier in 1928. He was premier ten times in his life. Ousted by the royalist party, he went to Paris in 1935 and died there one year later.

VERSAILLES, TREATY OF, the peace treaty ending the World War of 1914-1918, concluded between the Allied and Associated

Powers and Germany on June 28, 1919. The first half of the treaty was devoted to the organisation of the > League of Nations. The principal regulations made in the second half of the treaty were: Germany to cede > Alsace-Lorraine to France, > Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium, Posen and the > Corridor to Poland, > Memel to Lithuania, North Schleswig (after a plebiscite) to Denmark, East Upper Silesia (after a plebiscite) to Poland, Hulchin to Czechoslovakia, to renounce sovereignty over Danzig, to abstain from union with Austria; to disarm, to abolish universal military service, to keep only a small army of 100,000 and a small navy, to renounce military aircraft, submarines, heavy artillery and tanks, to destroy armament factory equipment; the Rhineland to be occupied by the Allies for 15 years; the Saar territory to become internationalised and to decide on its future by a plebiscite in 1935; German rivers to be internationalised; the German colonies to be shared out among the Allies under League Mandates; Germany to recognise her sole war-guilt and to pay reparations the amount of which was to be fixed later on; and a number of minor regulations. The > reparations were gradually reduced and entirely abrogated in 1932; the Rhineland was prematurely evacuated in 1930. These alterations of the treaty of Versailles were attained by negotiation; Hitler has abolished the rest of the treaty by uni-lateral action.

VOROSHILOFF, Kliment Yefremovitch, Soviet Russian Marshal and Commissar of War, born 1881 at Verkhneye, Gov. Yekaterinoslav, was a worker at the Lugansk locomotive works and other engineering plants, joined the Russian revolutionary movement, was repeatedly exiled to Siberia, participated in the civil war 1918-1920 as an army leader, has been War Commissar since 1925, and responsible for the development of the > Red Army. Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party since 1921.

WAFD, the leading post-war nationalist party of > Egypt, now greatly reduced by a split in 1938 and the rise of rival parties.

WPA, > Works Progress Administration.

WAGNER LABOUR RELATIONS ACT, an act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1935 in connection with President Roosevelt's > New Deal and codifying the American workers' right to form trade unions and to bargain collectively with the employers. Though freedom of coalition was granted under the American Constitution, employers had found means to prevent workers from organising. They had for a long time refused to negotiate with unions, they had discriminated and discharged employees who joined unions, and had frequently obtained injunctions from the courts against the unions on the ground that they were unlawful or unconstitutional because of interfering with the freedom of the individual. Already article 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act (> NRA) in 1933 had encouraged the workers to unionise but without adequate provisions to safeguard this right; in 1934, the Railway Labour Relations Act for the first time in American history instituted the legal right of employees to organise, and introduced sanctions against employers interfering with this right. The Wagner Labour Relations Act extended these principles from the railways to all industries "which affected the flow of interstate commerce". Nearly all the large industries of the U.S.A. belong to this group. The Wagner Act provides that if workers wish to unionise and bargain collectively or act for purposes of mutual aid, they must be left free to do so in fact as well as in law. Employers are bound to bargain with the group representing the free choice of the majority of the workers. The following actions were declared "unfair labour practices" and punishable: (1) To refuse collective bargaining. (2) To interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to unionise and bargain collectively. (3) To encourage or discourage membership in any labour organisation by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment, or any term or condition of employment. (4) To dominate or interfere with the formation of any labour organisation or contribute financial or other support to it. (This outlaws the so-called company unions, mock unions set up by the employers to keep workers from joining real unions.) (5) To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under the Wagner Act. The > "Yellow-Dog Contracts" were forbidden.

The National Labour Relations Board, set up in 1934, was granted the right to issue "cease and desist" orders against employers violating the Act, to order elections among the workers, to require employers to reinstate employees discharged for unionising, and to require courts to issue enforcing orders. The Act is expressly not to diminish the employees' right to

WESTMINSTER]

sound peace possibilities. Welles visited Rome, Berlin, Paris and London.

WESTMINSTER, Statute of, a document regulating the relationship of the members of the British Commonwealth on the basis of equality. (> British Empire.)

WHIGS, old name for the British Liberals, dropped in 1828.

WHIP, a Member of Parliament charged by his Party with the organisation of voting. When a division is on, the Whip is responsible for the presence of a sufficient number of members to carry the vote through. There are also "free votes" in which the parties give members a free hand and the Whips do not come into action.

WHITE ARMY, the Russian anti-revolutionary army in the civil war 1917-1921, so called in contrast to the "Red" army of the Communists and in allusion to the royalist forces of the Vendée which attempted an insurrection against the republicans in the French revolution, using the white lily, emblem of the French monarchy.

WHITE RUSSIA, one of the constituent republics of the > Soviet Union, lying on the south-western frontier and inhabited by the White Russians, a people speaking a language distinct from but akin to Russian and Ukrainian. The area was 49,000 sq. m. and the population over 5,000,000 at the beginning of 1939; capital is Minsk. An area inhabited by 2,000,000 White Russians had been kept by Poland after the Soviet-Polish war of 1920 and was reoccupied by the Soviet Union at the dissolution of Poland in September 1939, increasing the White Russian Republic by 40%. The White Russians are a nation, not a political group; they should not be confused with the "White" Russians of the civil war period and the anti-bolshevik Russian emigration.

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, shortly referred to as WPA, an American Federal Authority created under the > New Deal on May 6, 1935, with a view to providing employment for persons in need or relief. The projects are initiated by local public bodies, the WPA providing a portion of the cost. The workers are taken from the relief rolls. More than 250,000 projects have been approved so far and more than \$5,000,000,000 has been spent. At the end of 1938, about 2,800,000 workers were employed on WPA work.

time, the Cabinet acts under his direction and is responsible only to him. The deputies do not enjoy parliamentary immunity. An electoral law of 1931 assigned two-thirds of the seats to the Party polling the largest number of votes.

King Alexander was murdered during a visit to Marseilles, France, on October 9, 1934. A regency, consisting of the King's cousin, Prince Paul, and two non-political members, Dr. Stankovitch and Dr. Perovitch, was instituted to rule during the minority of Alexander's infant son, Peter II, born September 6, 1923.

Prince Paul, more liberal than his late cousin, admitted a certain amount of opposition which rallied under Dr. Matchek, successor to Raditch in the leadership of the Croats. Prince Paul's first premier was Yevtitch, succeeded by Dr. Stoyadinovitch in 1935. The latter's government was characterised by a gradual change in Yugoslav foreign policy. The former strong ties with France were loosened, and there was a trend towards Italy and later also Germany. In 1938 Stoyadinovitch visited Germany, which had in the meantime built up a dominant position in Yugoslavia's foreign trade. But the policy of Stoyadinovitch became rather unpopular in the Slav and pro-French-feeling country, and British influence began to counteract it. Prince Paul visited London several times. At the election of December 11, 1938, 41% of the votes were for the opposition, 59% for the government. Dragisha Tsvetkovitch, a moderate Serb, was appointed premier, and Dr. Markovitch foreign minister. The Government was reconstructed on August 24, 1939. Dr. Matchek and four other Croats were included, Dr. Matchek becoming vice-premier. The province of Croatia was restored and granted a considerable measure of autonomy, while defence, finance and foreign policy were reserved to the central Government. The Parliament was dissolved, and a new election on a more liberal basis was announced. When the present war broke out Yugoslavia declared neutrality. She relies on support from Italy in maintaining it.

Yugoslavia is primarily an agricultural country. Some copper and lead are mined, there being French and British interests in the mining industry. The Yugoslav army numbers 1,500,000 in war-time.

ZOG I]

hostility against the Arabs, and consider the continuance of an Arab minority within a predominantly Jewish Palestine as a feasible arrangement.

ZOG I, King of Albania until the Italian conquest in 1939, was born on October 8, 1895, at Burgayet, Albania, of the noble Moslem family of the Zogolli. Ahmed Zogu, as was his original name, fought for the Austrians in the World War, became Minister for the Interior in Albania in 1920 and Prime Minister in 1922. Had to resign and to flee to Yugoslavia in 1924. Returned and ousted his opponent, Bishop Fan Noli, became President of the Albanian Republic in 1925 and King in 1928. He pursued a policy of gradual reconstruction and modernisation. In April 1938 he married the Hungarian Countess Geraldine Apponyi. Despite his pro-Italian policy and despite the fact that Mussolini had shortly before agreed to be godfather to King Zog's new-born child, Italian troops suddenly attacked and occupied Albania in March 1939, and Zog fled with his family abroad. He is now in England.